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ON THE PRAKRIT AND SANSKRIT NAMES OF THE NASIK CAVE-HILL

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

The name of the hill in which the Buddhist caves at Nasik are excavated appears in some of the Prakrit inscriptions in these caves as *tiraṇhu* (5 times)[1] or *tiraṁṇhu* (once).[2] The same hill is styled as *triraśmi* in two of the inscriptions[3] written in mixed dialect in some of these caves. The names occur either singly as *tiraṇhu* and *triraśmi*, or in composition as *tiraṇhu-pa(v)vata* and *triraśmi-parvata*. That both *tiraṇhu* and *triraśmi* refer to the Nasik cave-hill is made clear by such references as follows: (this) cave caused to be made on the summit of the mountain Tiraṇhu and given as a gift to the community of monks[4]; this cave, with a caitya building and cisterns inside it, caused to be made on the mountain Tiraṁṇhu and given to the community of monks in the four quarters[5]; the building of (this) caitya caused to be completed on the mountain Tiraṇhu[6]; this cave and these cisterns caused to be made on the Triraśmi hills.[7]

The above references further suggest that the two names refer to the identical hill, and in this respect all scholars are agreed. The difficulty only arises in linguistically equating these two names, as the Pkt. *tiraṇhu* cannot be regularly derived from Skt. *triraśmi*. The difficulty of deriving *ṇh* < *śm* has been already pointed out by Dr. KATRE,[8] to which may further be added the difficulty in deriving the end vowel *u* < *i* (*raṇhu* < *raśmi*).

Bhagvanlal INDRAJI, one of the early scholars dealing with the Nasik inscriptions, makes no attempt to solve these difficulties. His only observations are— "The name Trirasmi or Triple Beam of Light is difficult to explain. It may refer to the three solitary hills of which the cave hill is the most easternly, or it may have been given to the cave hill because of its perfectly pyramidal or fire-tongued shape."[9]

1. For the various editions of the inscriptions where this word occurs, see LÜDERS, List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions, *EI* 10. Appendix, Nos. 1123 (twice), 1124, 1126, and 1141.
2. See LÜDERS, List No. 1140.
3. See LÜDERS, List Nos. 1131, 1137.
4. *EI* 8. 60f.
5. *EI* 8. 90f.
6. *EI* 8. 91f.
7. *EI* 8. 78f.
8. Tiranhu, Teranhu(ka) And Trirasmi, *Indian Linguistics*, 14. 143-145. 1954.
9. *The Bombay Gaz.* 16. 633. Earlier on p. 541, he observes, "About five miles to the south of Násik the Trimbak-Anjaneri range ends in three isolated hills six to eleven hundred feet above the plain...... The three hills are bare steep and pointed. The cave hill, besides being the highest, has the most sharply cut and shapely outlines. From Násik or from Govardhan six miles up the Godávari, its form is so perfect a pyramid as to suggest that its pyramid or triple fire-tongue shape was the origin of the name Trirasmi (Pk. Tiraṇhu) or Triple Sunbeam, by which it is known in seven of the cave inscriptions."

The first suggestion for the solution of the problem was made by SENART. He is of the opinion that since the meaning of *raśanā* is partially identical with *raśmi*, there arose, out of the contamination of these two, a form like **raśni*. Hence, according to SENART, *tiraṇhu* owes its origin to **triraśni*. By way of caution, however, he goes on to add, "...local names are subject to dialectic accidents, of which it is often difficult to state the origin and fix the measure."[10]

Though one may in general agree with SENART as regards the words of caution expressed by him, it is difficult to accepet his suggestion in respect of the derivation of *tiraṇhu*. For, apart from the considerations like those of contamination involved in it, the hypothetical form thus arrived at does not enable us to get over the second difficulty referred to above. The form **triraśni* may help us to obtain *tiraṇhi* (*śn* > *ṇh*); but this form does not satisfactorily explain the change of the final vowel *i* > *u* (**triraśni* > *tiraṇhu*). On the semantic side, the word *raśanā* 'girdle, etc.', has very little propriety in the name of a hill.

In a recent article on the subject already referred to above, Dr. KATRE has shown that SENART's suggestion could be bettered by taking the Sanskrit prototype of Prakrit *tiraṇhu* as **trirāsna* from *rāsnā* 'a girdle'.[11] This is no doubt an advance over the suggestion of SENART, for it saves us from the labour of the supposed contamination; but with this explanation also the second difficulty regarding the change in the end vowel remains.

The difficulties in offering a satisfactory explanation of *tiraṇhu* have remained unsolved because the Sanskrit name of the hill is misleading. Leaving it therefore aside for a while, and keeping our attention on the last syllable of the Prakrit name, remembering at the same time that here we are dealing with the name of a hill, it will be seen that *-ṇhu* in the given context can come only from Sk. *snú*. Now *snú* in the sense of 'the summit or edge of a mountain' occurs since the earliest times, and has been accepted as the collateral form of the more familiar *sā́nu* 'summit of a mountain'. *snú* has also been given by the Sanskrit lexicons as an equivalent of *sā́nu*.[12] Coming to *tira*, the fact that "the caves are situated in one of the *three* hills in which the mountain range (at Nasik) ends," or that the cave hill has a *pyramidal* form,[13] suggests that the beginning of the hill-name *tira* may stand for a word meaning 'three'. Taken together, we arrive at the conclusion that the original Sanskrit counterpart of the Prakrit *tiraṇhu* must have been *trisnu* : *trisānu*, and that the Prakrit name actually owes its origin to a semi-tatsama from *trisnu* viz. **tirasnu*. Both *sā́nu* and *snú* are surely appropriate as occurring in the name of a hill.

10. *EI* 8. 64.
11. *Indian Linguistics*, 14. 145. 1954.
12. Cf. *snuḥ prasthaḥ sānur astriyām* / Amarakośa 2.3.4; also cf. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 1035; Vaijayantī 41.14.
13. Bhagvanlal INDRAJI, *op. cit.* p. 541.

It is hardly necessary to add anything here to explain the derivation of Pkt. *tiraṇhu* from the semi-tatsama *tirasnu*. About the semi-tatsama itself in its relation to Skt. *triṣnu* it may be observed that as the difficulty was felt in the pronunciation of the cluster *tr* at the beginning of the word, *tri* > *tir*(*a*), thus giving rise to *tirasnu*, which became quite a parallel to *trisānu*, both from the point of view of the number of the syllables and their metrical value (⏑ — ⏑).

Normally Skt. *tri-* is represented as *ti-* in the MIA languages. But it apepers as *tira* in the present case as it happens to be a part of the semi-tatsama. Such dissolution of a consonant cluster with *r* in the first syllable is seen already in such instances of the MIA stage as *kriyā* > *kiriyā* or *kiriā* (PISCHEL § 131, § 135); *śrī* > *sirĭ*, *hrī* > *hirĭ* (PISCHEL § 135, GEIGER § 8).[14]

Moreover *tri* itself appears as *tir*(*a*) in some of the numerals of the Modern Indian Languages.[15] Thus for instance, for 53 we have *tirpan* (Hindī, Nepālī), *tirpanna* (Marāṭhī), *tirwañja* (Lahndā); for 63 we have *tirsaṭh* (Hindī, Nepālī); for 73, *tirahattar* (Hindī); for 83, *tirāsī* (Hindī, Nepālī, Bangālī, Panjābī, Lahndā), *tiryāśī* (Marāṭhī); for 93, *tirānave* (Hindī, Lahndā), *tirānabe* (Nepālī), *tirānabbai* (Bangālī), *tiryāṇṇav* (Marāṭhī); for 43, *tirtālī* (Lahndā), *tartālī* (Panjābī). In addition we may note the use of *tirī* (Marāṭhī), *tīrī* (Gujarātī) in the game of cards.[16] Also *tir* appears as the word for 3 in the Dardic languages.

In this connection it may also be observed that *tir* occurs for *tri* in the popular pronunciation of many words beginning with *tri*. The following examples[17] cited from TURNER's *Nepali Dictionary* have correspondences in many of the modern languages of north India: *tirphalā* (*triphalā*), *tirbeni* (*tribeni*), *tirbhuvan* (*tribhuvan*), *tirsul* (*triśūl*). Another similar instance, but not connected with the numeral *tri*, is Nepālī *tirsanā* < *trisnā* < *tṛṣṇā*.

With regard to the treatment of this initial cluster we may also observe the following correspondences for Skt. *strī*: *tiriyā* Nepāli, *tiri* Assamese, and *tiryā* Panjābī.

Now both *snú* and *sā̆nu* 'summit, peak' occur in relationship with the words for mountain like *girí*, *ádri*, and *párvata* since the earliest times.[18] We even get *tri* and *sā̆nu* together in the expression *sā̆nuṣu triṣú* in Ṛv. II.3.7, where, however,

14. We may further compare *grāsa* > *garāsa*, *trasyati* > *tarāsai*, *pramāṇa* > *paramāṇa*, *prasanna* > *parasaṇṇa* (PISCHEL § 132).

15. For illustrations, I am indebted to TURNER, *Nepali Dictionary*, (London, 1931).

16. Hindī *tiyā*, Nepālī *tiyā* or *tiyo*, Panjābī *tiā*.

17. It is possible to multiply these instances by citing pronunciations like *tirkāl* (*trikāl*), *tirkoṇ* (*trikoṇ*) etc.; the tendency is witnessed also in other instances like *tarāṇ* (*trāṇ*), *tarās* (*trās*), etc.

18. cf. Ṛv. 8.46.18; 1.117.16, 155.1; 6.61.2; 8.96.2.

it occurs in the sense of 'three raised places above the earth' referring to the three fire altars. The verse runs—

daívyā hótārā prathamā́ vidúṣṭara ṛjú yakṣataḥ sám ṛcā́ vapúṣṭarā /
devā́n yájantāv ṛtuthā́ sám añjato nā́bhā pṛthivyā́ ádhi sā́nuṣu triṣú / /

"May both the first heavenly Hotṛs, the better knowers and those having better forms, offer the sacrifice correctly with the *ṛk*; while offering sacrifices to gods at the right time, may they bring them (i.e. the gods) toegther at the navel of the earth, on the three raised summits."

Though we do not come across in early literature *trisnu* or *trisānu*[19] as a compound formation and as a name of a mountain, other similar names of mountains are of frequent occurrence since early times. Thus *trikakud* or *trikakubh* 'having three summits' occurs as the name of a mountain in old literature.[20]

várṣiṣṭhaḥ párvatānāṁ trikakún nā́ma te pitā́ / Av. 4.9.8.

"The highest among the mountains, Trikakud by name, is your father, (Oh Ointment)."

yatra vā Indro Vṛtram ahaṁs tasya yad akṣy āsīt taṁ giriṁ Trikakudam akarot / Śat. Br. 3·1·3·12.

"When Indra killed Vṛtra, that what was his eye, that he turned into mountain Trikakud." (This is observed while discussing the propriety of using the Traikakuda ointment for the eye of the sacrificer). The same name appears as Trikakubh[21] in the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā XXIII.1 cf. *Índro vaí Vṛtrám ahaṁs tásya cákṣuḥ párāpatat tát Trikakúbhaṁ prā́ viśat /*

With this Trikakud, we may also compare such later names of the mountains as Trikūṭa,[22] Triśikhara, and Triśṛṅga occurring in the Epics and the Purāṇas.[23]

Next to the Sanskrit name of the hill, *triraśmi*. As seen from the Pkt. form, the original name of the hill was *trisnu* : *trisānu*. Now it seems fairly certain

19. Its equivalent *tripṛṣṭhá*, though not connected with a mountain, occurs already in the Ṛgveda, cf. 7.37.1 ; 9.62.17, 71.7, 75.3, 90.2, 106.11.

20. Trikakuda, as the name of a mountain, occurs in the various Purāṇas, cf. V.R. Ramachandra DIKSHITAR, *The Purāṇa Index*, Madras, 1952.

21. *trikakúbh* 'having three points' occurs also in the Ṛv. 1.121.4, but as an adj. of Indra's vajra (?) ; however, *kakúbh* occurs even in the Ṛgveda in the sense of 'the tops of the mountain" cf. *ávābhinat kakúbhaḥ párvatānām* (4.19.4). "(Indra), struck down the tops of the mountains.'. For this meaning of *kakúbh* here, see LÜDERS, *Varuṇa*, p. 90 ; for references to *trikakúd*, I am indebted to his note on kakúbh, kakúd, trikakúd, kakuhá, pp. 83-92. For Trikakud as the name of a mountain also cf. Pāṇini 5.4.147 '*trikakut parvate* / on which Kāśikā observes '*na ca sarvas triśikharaḥ parvatas trikakut / kiṁ tarhi saṁjñaiṣā parvataviśeṣasya* /

22. According to Amarakośa, Trikūṭa and Trikakud are synonyms. cf. *trikūṭas trikakut samau* / 2.3.1.

23. For references see DIKSHITAR, *op. cit.*, SORENSEN, *Index to the Names in the Mahabharata*, and D. R. PATIL, *Cultural History from the Vāyupurāṇa*, Appendix.

that *triraśmi* is just the translation of *trisnu*: *trisānu* effected on the following lines. The Sanskrit lexicographers give '*arka*' as one of the meanings of *sānu*.[24] The word *arka* itself has various meanings, one of which is 'the ray' which is attested since early times. The Sanskrit name of the hill *triraśmi* 'having three rays' is therefore not the original name of the hill, but a secondary one obtained by translating *sānu* with *raśmi* (on the basis that both have the common meaning '*arka*').

Such translations of proper names with the help of synonyms are not uncommon in ancient literature. In fact a similar translation of *trisānu* itself, but with the use of another word for 'ray' viz. *bhānu* (instead of *raśmi*), has been recorded in the case of the name of a king, a descendant of Turvasu. The name of this king appears as Trisānu in the Vāyupurāṇa 99·1–2,[25] and in the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 3·74·1–2. But the name of the same person appears as Tribhānu in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa 9·23·16–17,[26] which is evidently a variant of Trisānu due to the translation of *sānu* by *bhānu* (in the sense of *arka* 'ray').

It will thus be seen that *tiraṇhu* does not come from *triraśmi*. As shown above, both originate from *trisnu*: *trisānu*, the one through the semi-tatsama *tirasnu*, the other through the translation of *sānu* by *raśmi*.

24. cf. Śabdakalpadruma under *sānu*: *arkaḥ/pallavaḥ/iti Jaṭādharaḥ/* Also cf. Śabdārtha cintāmaṇi s.v.

25. *turvasos tu suto vahnir vahner gobhānur ātmajaḥ / gobhānos tu suto vīras trisānu aparājitaḥ // karandhamas trisānos tu.........*

26. *turvasoś ca suto vahnir vahner bhargo 'tha bhānumān / tribhānus tatsuto 'syāpi karandhama udāradhīḥ //* The other variants recorded for this name are *Traisānu* (Harivaṁśa 1.32.117-118, and also one ms. of the Viṣṇupurāṇa 4.16.2), *Trayīsānu* (Viṣṇupurāṇa 4.16.2, Gita Press, Gorakhpur), *Traiśāni* (Agnipurāṇa 276.1, *Traiśāli* as noted by WILSON in his translation of the Viṣṇupurāṇa IV.116), *Trisāri* (Matsyapurāṇa 48.1-2, *Triśāri* as noted by WILSON *op. cit.*), *Aiśānu* (Brahmapurāṇa 13.142-143), and *Traiśāmba* (Viṣṇupurāṇa 4.16.2, Calcutta edn.). It is clear that Trayīsānu, Traisānu, Aiśānu, Traiśāni, Traiśāli, Triśāri, and Trisāri are all corruptions of Trisānu. Traiśāmba for Triśāmba seems to be a translation of Tribhānu as Sāmba (for Śāmba) is noted as a particular form of the sun. (See MONIER-WILLIAMS *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v.). For the references to the Purāṇa literature, with regard to these variants, I am intebted to M. M. CHITRĀV ŚĀSTRI, *Prācina Caritra-Kośa*, Poona, 1932.

A 17TH CENTURY DUTCH GRAMMAR OF TAMIL*

By

J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN AND P. C. GANESHSUNDARAM**

Ever since the cardinal year 1498, when the Portuguese explorer *Vasco da Gama* opened the countries of South-East-Asia to the trade of the European powers of the day, we see land on the shores of India, side by side with the merchants, the missionaries. And from the day they set foot on Indian soil they displayed an energy and an apostolic fervour which are really amazing. In some instances, as in *Xavier's*, their exploits grew to the size of a saga ; and even now the disinterested spectator, pausing on the threshold of a new era and looking back, cannot suppress a feeling of puzzled admiration.

No sooner had these missionaries established contact with the Indians of the South, than they set themselves to the task of studying and describing the language. As Vaiyapuri PILLAI, the learned Editor of the great Tamil Lexicon, writes [1]: " The development of Tamil Lexicography owes much to the work of these earnest Christians. An intimate knowledge of the Tamil language and the Tamil people was essential for their missionary work ; and they settled in small groups in important centres, mixed intimately with the Tamils, and studied their manners and customs, as only strangers could. Tamil literature drew their attention even at the outset. Realising that printing would greatly help them in their pursuits, they introduced into India the art of printing. The first Tamil types were cut by Joannes Gonsalves, a lay brother of the Jesuits, at Cochin in 1577 and the first dictonary was a Tamil-Portuguese one, printed in Cochin in 1679 A.D."[2]

The activities of the Portuguese in this field are fairly well known, but far less known are the contributions of the Dutch Protestant missionaries who arrived a little later on the ships of the Honourable Dutch East-Indian Company which was founded in 1602. The circumstances in which these Dutch missionaries had to work were entirely different from those of the Portuguese Jesuits. Compared with the militant Society of Jesus which could organize an army, or as BALDAEUS

* By courtesy of the Historical Museum of the Deccan College.

** The Introduction and Translation are by Dr. J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN ; the supplemented modern transliterations of the Tamil texts along with a note on the phonetic and other peculiarities of BALDAEUS, Tamil are by P. C. GANESHSUNDAREM.

1. S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI, *Tamil Lexicon* (Madras 1936), I, p. xxxv f.

2. *Vocabulario Tamuelco com a significacao Portugueza composto pello P(adre) Antem de Proenca da Comp(anhia) de Jesu, Mission : de Maduré* (Tamil vocabulary with Portuguese meaning, compiled by Father A. de Pr. of the Society of Jesus, Madura Mission) 1679 ; not extant ; known from quotation (GRIERSON, *Linguistic Survey of India*, IV, p. 301).

prefers to call them "a mighty swarm of Grasshoppers," they were no more than free lancers. BALDAEUS for one is painfully aware of this and in his undisguised admiration for the work of the Fathers there is a distinct note of envy. Still, their efforts and the fruits of their labours command our respect.

ABRAHAM ROGERIUS has the distinction of having been the first Westerner who gave a systematic account of South-Indian Hinduism.[3] A little later his junior colleague PHILIPPUS BALDAEUS, who arrived in India at the age of 21 in 1654 and stayed here and in Ceylon until 1664, followed ROGERIUS' example and improved on it by adding to his "*Veritable Discovering and Refutation of the Idolatry of the East-Indian Heathens*" a detailed description of contemporaneous Malabar and Choromandel and of the "Mighty Island of Ceylon."[4] To the first part of his *magnum opus* is attached an appendix, somewhat grandly entitled "Grammar of the Malabaric Language."

It would appear that this short treatise is the first Tamil grammar in a European language known to us, if not actually the first written, and for this reason deserves the interest of all historians of Indian Linguistics. In the fourth Volume of his Linguistic Survey of India, p. 302, Grierson remarks that "a short Tamil grammar appeared as early as 1672, in Philippus Balde's [the form of the name from which the Latinized Baldaeus was derived, so Rogerius from Rogers, v. B.] *Beschrijvinghe* (sic) *van Malabar en Coromandel* (sic)." Baldaeus himself mentions in his Introduction that the Jesuits, particularly Father Caspar d'Aquilar, had preceded him in his studies : the latter "excelled in the uncovering of the Malabaric language."[5] His work, however, is not known to Grierson who states (o.c. p. 302) that "a new Tamil grammar, by Balthasar da Costa, appeared in 1680," as the first Portuguese grammar known.

BALDAEUS prefaces to his Grammar a "*Korte Malabaersche Letter-Konst*" or Survey of the Tamil Alphabet in some six folios, where the vowel and the consonant characters with the *mātras* are written out with a transcription and description of the Dutch values. This part, a remarkable piece of calligraphy, is headed by the legend : "The Malabars[6] are accustomed to write on the leaves of the wild palmyra with iron styles. They have had their characters from of old. Their Letters are thus distinguished : 1. some are called short or running (*loopende*) ; 2. others long ; 3. some vowels which they call letters of life because they give

3. Abraham ROGERIUS, *Open-deure tot het verborgen Heydendom* (Open door to the hidden Heathenesse), re-edited by W. CALAND (The Hague 1915).

4. Title : *Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel* (= Part I)...*en het machtige Eyland Ceylon* (= Part II)......*Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen* (= Part III)...... *Malabaarsche Spraak-konst* (Amsterdam 1672).—Part III *Afgoderye* etc. has been re-edited by A. W. DE JONG (the Hague 1917).

5. This Portuguese Jesuit seems not to be known elsewhere.

6. Malabaric was the common designation of Tamil people and language with the 17th century Portuguese and Dutch writers.

soul and life to the consonants ; 4. some consonants or letters of body, of which the vowels are the life ; 5. some they call mixed letters, which we call diphthongs, composed of two vowels ; 6. some are called letters used only at the beginning of a word ; 7. some in the middle ; 8. some at the end." Finally two specimina are added : *Our Father* and the *Creed*, in Tamil characters with interlinear original Latin text.

In his Grammar he declares that this is only a specimen of a complete Grammar which he had ready at the time of writing. If this Grammar, which was never published, has survived the centuries it would be extremely interesting to discover and study it.

Hereunder I give an English translation of the " Grammar," or, as Baldaeus more modestly refers to it, the *Prodromus Grammaticus*, printed some 43 years before another Dutchman, Joan Josua KETELAER, wrote the first European grammar of Hindustani in Dutch (1715).[7] In another article I intend to describe BALDAEUS' entire work in greater detail ; here I may refer the Dutch-reading public to de Jong's annotated re-edition of the last part of Baldaeus' work, the treatise on South-Indian Hinduism, for particulars about his life and times. Meanwhile I include here his delightful introduction to his Grammar which throws some interesting side-lights on his activities in India and Ceylon : the way he is knocked about by his employers, the Honourable Company, and his precarious position in Ceylon where he has to preach his variant of Christianity to Roman-Catholic converts and " heathens " alike, taking good care not to give offence to the Roman missionaries : a delicate task particularly hard for a typical representative of a people that only a few years before had won an eighty-years war for freedom of religion with the Catholic Spaniards. Nor is Baldaeus' curious prophecy of the fate that would overtake the Western mercantile powers if they would happen to forget their religion for their trade, without some historical interest.

INTRODUCTION TO THE *Malabaric* GRAMMAR

Attentive Reader ! Inasmuch as these *Malabaric* Letters have never been under the Dutch Printing presses, therefore I shall first show the reasons why that has never yet come to pass, secondly the necessity of making these Types, as well as the *Hebrew*, *Chaldaean*,[8] *Arabic*, *Persian* and *Samaritan*[9] and other Oriental Letters known in detail at some time to this accurately exploring World, so that the multitude of the *Heathens* may in ever greater number enter into God's Sanctuaries. Herein our adversaries in matter of Religion, but our praiseworthy friends in zeal,

7. Latin translation of the same treatise Leyden 1743. For particulars see S. K. CHATTERJI, *The oldest grammar of Hindustani*, Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India, V, 363-84 (Lahore 1935) ; J. PH. VOGEL, *Joan Josua Ketelaer of Elbing, Author of the first Hindūstānī grammar*, BSOS 1936, VIII 817-22.

8. Akkadian character.

9. Aramaeic character.

the Supporters of the falling *Babylon*,[10] I mean the Jesuitic Fathers and *Loyolites*,[11] have preceded us laudably, so far indeed that we may scarcely perceive them with a telescope ; and in particular *Father Gasper* (Caspar) *d'Aquilar* has excelled in the uncovering of the *Malabaric* language ; so that they ought to inspire the zeal of all Preachers, particularly those who are sent to the Oriental Countries, in order to contribute (in proportion to the small number they constitute in contrast to the mighty swarm of Roman Grasshoppers) their time and their labour, and put the industrious hand to this Plough ; so that daily it may be accomplished what *Isaiah* has prophesied of the Man of God, ch. 43, 6 : "*I will say to the north, Give up ; and to the south, Keep not back : bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth.*" And ch. 49, 22, and particularly that which the godly *Jeremiah* propounds, ch. 16, 19 : "*The Gentiles shall come unto thee from the ends of the earth, and shall say, Surely our fathers have inherited lies, vanity, and things wherein there is no profit*"[12], that thus, by the faith *Jesu Christi*, taking leave of their heights and hills, they might bring the Son of God to the Heathens of the world.

The reason that hitherto the *Malabaric* language has been unknown amongst us is this, because the land of *Malabar* has for the first time been conquered from the *Portuguese* by the blessed arms of the *Honourable Company* only in the years 1661, 1662 and 1663 : for so long as the Company have no actual dominion, they are not accustomed to send Ministers of the Lord. 'Tis true that I have been in that Country more than once and have witnessed all the campaigns and the sieges of *Coulang* (Quilon), *Cranganor* (Kranganur), *Cochin* etc.,[13] but I have never resided there permanently. After I had been a pastor in the town *Gale*, on the famed island of *Ceylon*, during one year, the supreme Pastor was pleased, after I had witnessed the campaigns before *Tutecorijn* (Tutecorin), *Manaar* (Manar), *Jafnapatam* and *Negnapatnam* (Negapatam), to transfer me, and to take me from my watch-tower and place me *in Turre* (sic) *Angulari*,[14] on the corner-tower *Psephina* of that island, to wit in the Kingdom of *Jafnapatam*, whence one did not have a view on *Arabia* (as the savant *Arias Montanus* in his *Nehemias*, or Description of Holy City testifies), but on 24 Churches, which otherwise, had they remained without pastor, would soon have been worse than a stony and waste *Arabia*.

In the beginning of my Ministration there I found what I would want in so vast a task (the more since I was alone for three and a half years), to wit, the knowledge of the language, to converse directly with that People of difficult speech and (for us) ludicrous lips ; (the more so, because I had ample work in both Dutch

10. Papal Rome.
11. The eponym is *Ignacio de Loyola*, founder of the Society of Jesus.
12. I quote, and adopt the orthography of, the *Authorised Version*.
13. These campaigns are described in detail in Part I of BALDAEUS' work.
14. Latin ; "corner-tower" (abl.; correct form *turri*).

and Portuguese ministration; in the latter only ouside the Churches of the Inhabitants for whom so many Roman ministers had already laboured;) to inculcate in them the first principles of Religion in their own way (for *Jesus Christus* is preached in many ways) for they could not be kept an accursed *Gilbao* or barren *Cabul*. God the Lord, then, in his unfathomable mercy, provided me with a good Interpreter, well-grounded not only in his *Malabaric* mother-tongue but also in the *Portuguese* language, not only capable with his tongue but also with his pen, a truly pious and godly Man, well experienced in his catechization of 8 years in that place; his name is *François*: for why should I forget him? He has borne me company faithfully in the work of the Lord, and he has been to me a son in *Jesu Christo*, begotten by the eternal and true Gospel, and, as the firstling of that Country and partaker at the Lord's holy and venerable Table, at the same time still annually continuing with others of his compatriots the Christian friendship with the aid of his pen. So, with his help and the approval of the high Authority in that region, I composed an epitome of the principles of truths, merely posing them, so as not to offend,[15] knowing that at one time, when the light has been shown, the darkness has to give way of its own accord. Afterwards they built on this foundation, and these instructions, being brief so as not to burden the memory, were faithfully translated by the said Interpreter from my *Portuguese* writings into the *Malabaric* language, and the Reader (if so disposed) may see what these documents are, and obtain them, at *Johannes Borstius*' in *Rotterdam*, where they have been printed in 1671.

After some time I was allowed breathing space when the *Reverend Joannes á Breyl* was attached to me, competent not only in the *Dutch* but also in the *Portuguese* ministration; and one year before my departure, the *Reverend Bartholomeus Heyne* who, in my time already, proved his zeal to catechize in the Portuguese language and doubtless (he being still a young man) would at some time also have ministered well in *Malabaric*, but is now flung with a Sling to *Gale*, where, instead of continuing his *Malabaric*, he will have to start again learning *Singhalese*; which is regrettable, saddening, miserable and very disadvantageous to God's Church. This rolling away of the Ministers has now lasted so long that it might well grieve Heaven; for thus we may learn to say justly, *Oleum et operam perdidi*.[16]

But to conclude. Although it seemed to me difficult and well-nigh impossible to learn that language (for the letters appeared to me as new Monsters, having something in common with *Hebrew*, but with what difference), yet I would not despair, so that now and then, whatever leisure I had, I set to work (*in magnis etiam voluisse sat est*),[17] first learning with the Children to write in the sand, as the Reader is vividly shown in this picture. Likewise I took the *Olen*,[18] or leaves, in

15. *i.e.* not polemizing with the Roman-Catholic Doctrine, so as not to offend the Roman missionaries and to scandalize the local converts.
16. Latin; "I have wasted my oil and my labour."
17. Latin; "in great things too it suffices to have tried."
18. Tamil *ōlai*.

my hand, and the iron style (often thinking of what *Cicero* testifies about *Attilius* : although I use an iron and steel style, may I become useful with it !) So I learnt to scribble a bit, and, to accustom myself to the use of this hard pen, I abandoned our quills in that country and wrote my letters to home and to Friends on these leaves, intending to have more exercise therein ; but seeing that a terrifying Comet foretold wonderful changes in 1664 and that the Planets in that Almanack and at the Pole began to turn round in an extraordinary way, I got a mind to see the Polar Star, which in the evenings showed itself only just on top of my house, a little higher in the sky, and *in medio stellæ cœli*[19]. Thus I decided, (after taking counsel with God, after taking with me abundant testimonies, and after a due request for dismissal and a ministration of eleven years in that country) to cross the equator twice, lest it would befall to me what befalls daily to others : labour, expenses and exertions all lost. And 'tis thus, attentive Reader, why I consider myself, not an accomplished man, but hardly yet a Youth in the knowledge of that language ; nonetheless, lest all my labours should be lost, I have published these elements, who knows wherefore ? and who hath despised the day of small things ? *Zach.* 4, 10. *Magnarum rerum tarda sunt molimina.*[20]

Now to arrive at the second reason, namely how necessary this knowledge is, I shall indicate this only briefly, for I will conclude (lest the head appear bigger than the body) : first it is certain that the glory of God and the knowledge *Jesu Christi* should be the highest aim of all state, classes and commerce and the task of all and sundry (for such we even pretend in our prayers), and God will not be mocked, Gal. 6, 7, otherwise prosperity may be there for sometime, but *the prosperity of the Godless destroys them*, according the greatest Sage of all. I know that in this corrupted Century many, though not the pious, will fling my words to the winds : But God forbid that I may not speak the truth, although in these times it is easy to be a prophet. If one will not be zealous for the glory of God in these countries, the blessing will not last long, but turn into curse ; and in the measure that is meted out to our enemies the *Portuguese* (who, however, spared no expense in printing complete volumes in *Malabaric*, not to speak now of *Chinese* and *Japanese*), we will also be repaid, Heaven forbid ! This will of necessity be done by means of the language, through which Religion is inculcated and friendship and strong bonds are created with the Inhabitants of the Country : so knew king *Emanuel*[21] for one, who has achieved more with a few Jesuites than with all his wars (which finally appear to have emaciated him). And truly, the Religion and Propagation of the true Belief is pillar and cornerstone of a firm government, as long before me a famous statesman has said : for we read that the godly *Levites* supported the collapsing reign of *Rehoboam* during three years and fortified his kingdom, 2 *Chron.* 11, 17. And the pious *Josaphat* said very justly, *Believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be*

19. Latin ; "and the stars in the middle of the sky" ; *stellas* expected and possibly misprinted.
20. Latin ; "success follows tardily on momentous enterprises."
21. Emanuel I the Great or the Happy (1469-1521).

established; *believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper*, 2 *Chron*. 20, verse 20. In this manner we would see the Peace of *Jerusalem* last,—and that only with a few able and experienced Godly Men, not the meanest of the People, but those who have here already been able to give reasonable proof of their knowledge of languages,—which the Lord may continue and the *Hon. Company* that now has prospered for well-nigh 70 years may make lasting and permanent, as God grant and Heaven be prayed for, and wishes,

Your Honour's Servant and Friend in Jesu Christo,
PHIL. BALDAEUS

At Geervliet,
21st *July*, 1671.

MALABARIC GRAMMAR

The first *declination* of the *Malabars* comprehends only those nouns which are of masculine gender, changing the *-n* of the singular to *-r* in the plural. They have both the singular and the plural forms like we have. Likewise the nominative, called pradamei [prathamai]; genitive, duteiei [dvitīyai]; dative, tritei [tṛtīyai]; accusative, chadurti [caturthī]; vocative, panchami [pañcamī]; ablative, xasti [ṣaṣṭhī].

NOUN

Example of the first declination, ending in -an [*-an̠*]

Singular *vanan* " a fuller " [*vaṇṇān*—" a washerman "]
Nom.—*vanan* " a fuller " [*vaṇṇān*]
Genit.—*vananureja* " of the fuller, a fuller's " [*vaṇṇān̠uḍaiya*]
Dativ.—*vananucu* " for a fuller " [*vaṇṇān̠ukku*]
Acc.—*vananer* " the fuller " [*vaṇṇān̠ai*]
Vocat.—*vanano* " O fuller " [*vaṇṇān̠ō*]
Ablat.—*vananiratil* " from the fuller " [*vaṇṇān̠iḍattil*]

Their *ablative* is of four kinds :—

1. *local* : of place *vananiratil* " from the fuller " [*vaṇṇān̠iḍattil*]
2. *causal* : *vananale* " because of the fuller " [*vaṇṇān̠ālē*]
3. *sociative* : of company : *vananore* " with the fuller " [*vaṇṇān̠ōḍē*]
4. *comparative* : *vananil* " one compared with the other " [*vaṇṇān̠il*]

Plural *vanar fullones* " fullers " [*vaṇṇār*]
Nom.—*vanar* " fullers " [*vaṇṇār*]
Gen.—*vananareia* " of the fullers " [*vaṇṇāruḍaiya*]
Dativ.—*vanarcul, vanarucu* " for the fullers " [*vaṇṇārkku, vaṇṇārukku*]
Accus.—*vanarei* " the fullers " [*vaṇṇārai*]
Vocat.—*vanare* " O fullers " [*vaṇṇāre*]

Abl. 1.—*localis* : *vanar iratil, vanar iratile* <" from the fullers "> [*vaṇṇāri-ḍattil, vaṇṇāriḍattilē*]

2. *causal* : *vanaral, vanarale* " because of the fullers " [*vaṇṇārāl, vaṇṇarālē*]

3. *sociative* : *vanarore, vanarorum* " with the fullers " [*vaṇṇārōḍē, vaṇṇā-rōḍum*]

4. *comparative* : *vanaril, vanarilum* <" the fullers compared " > [*vaṇṇāril, vaṇṇārilum*]

In order to satisfy the curious reader to some extent in this little piece, which is only a *Prodromus Grammaticus*, and following on which at some future time a greater complete Grammar might be edited in print—for we have it already resting with us—, I will add hereto a short example of a conjugation.

PRAESENS

Singular

I *nan vichuvadigirren* " I believe " [*nāṉ vicuvacikkiṟēṉ, viśuvaśik-kiṟēṉ*]

Thou *ni vichuvadiguirray* " thou believest " [*nī vicuvacikkiṟāy, viśu-vaśikkiṟāy*]

He *avan vichuvasiguirran* " he believeth " [*avaṉ vicuvacikkiṟāṉ, viśu-vaśikkiṟāṉ*]

She *vichuvadiguirral* " she believeth " [*vicuvacikkiṟāḷ, viśuvaśikkiṟāḷ*]

That *vichuvadiguirraduvel* " that believeth " [*vicuvacikkiṟadugaḷ, viśu-vaśikkiṟadugaḷ*]

vichuvadiguidu [*viśuvaśikkudu, viśuvaśikkudu*]

Plural.

We *nangal* *vichuvadiguirron* " We believe " [*Nāṅgaḷ vicuvacik-kiṟōm, viśuvaśikkiṟōm*]

You *ningal* *vichuvadivirgal* " you believe " [*Nīṅgaḷ vicuvacik-kiṟīrgal, viśuvaśikkiṟīrgaḷ*]

They [masc.] / They [fem.] / They fem. } *vichuvadicrargal* " they men and women believe " [*vicuvacikkiṟārgaḷ, viśuvaśikkiṟārgaḷ*]

They neuter *adugal* { *vichuvadicradu* " those or those things believe " [*vicuva-cikkiṟadu, viśuvaśikkiṟadu*]
vichuvadiguidu " those or [those things] make believe " [*adugaḷ vicuvacikkudu, viśuvaśikkudu*]

NEGATIVE : PRAESENS Actual

Singular

I *nan* *ut supra*	*vichuvadieren illei*	" I do not believe " [*nāṉ viśuvaśikkiṟēṉ illai*]
	vichuvadierei illei	" Thou dost not believe " [*viśuvaśikkiṟāy illai*]
	vichuvadiezan illei	" He doth not believe " [*viśuvaśikkiṟāṉ illai*]
	vichuvadiezal illei	" She doth not believe " [*viśuvaśikkiṟāḷ illai*]
	vichuvadierad' illei	" That doth not believe " [*viśuvaśikkiṟad' illai*]

Plural

we *nangal*	*vichuvadierem illei*	" we do not believe " [*nāṅgaḷ viśuvaśikkiṟōm illai*]
	vichuvadierirgal illei	" you do not believe " [*viśuvaśikkiṟīrgaḷ illai*]
	vichuvadierarga illei	" they mf. do not believe " [*viśuvaśikkiṟārgaḷ illai*]
	vichuvadierad' illei	N. " these things do not believe " [*viśuvaśik-kiṟad' illai*]
	vichuvadiguid illei	[*viśuvaśikkud' illai*]

Praesens honoris " of honour," when one speaks to a King or a great Person. First *affirmative* :

vichuvadierora " I, we, and the King believe that "

vichuvadierir " Your Honour, You, His Majesty believes that " [*viśuvaśik-kiṟīr*].

vichuvadierare " His Honour, His Excellency, His Royal Majesty believes that " [*viśuvaśikkiṟārē*]

NEGATIVE : Praesens Actual

Singular

Vichuvadiren illei	" I do not believe that " [*viśuvaśikkiṟēṉ illai*]
vichuvadierei illei	" You do not believe that " [*viśuvaśikkiṟāy illai*]
vichuvadiezan illei	" he does not believe that " [*viśuvaśikkiṟāṉ illai*]
vichuvadiezal illei	" she does not believe that " [*viśuvaśikkiṟāḷ illai*]
vichuvadierad' illei	" that thing does not believe that " [*viśuvaśikkiṟad' illai*]
vichuvadiguid illei	[*viśuvaśikkud' illai*]

Plural

vicuvadierem illei	" we do not believe that " [*viśuvaśikkiṟōm illai*]
vichuvadierirgal illei	" you do not believe that " [*viśuvaśikkiṟīrgaḷ illai*]

vichuvadicrargal illei " he does not believe that " [*viśuvaśikkirārgaḷ illai*]
vichuvadicrad illei " she does not believe that " [*viśuvaśikkirad' illai*]
vichuvadiguid illei " those things do not believe that " [*viśuvaśikkud' illai*]

Praesens Negative. *Honoris*, or of honour
vichuvideron illei " His Majesty does not believe that "
vichuvadicrir illei " you do not believe that "
vichuvadierar illei " he does not believe that " [*viśuvaśikkirīr illai*]
" she does not believe that " [*viśuvaśikkirār illai*]

Here one sees first that the *Malabaric* language is not only a difficult language (for, apart from this example, this may at some future time be shown clearly from the quantity of their words) and that one thing has very many names, not only every day in the week, but also every day in the whole year has its own name. Secondly, how greatly this People stands on its dignity and respectability, and with what lack of experience many distinguished Gentlemen often talk, as though the People of *Malabar* and other *Indians* were savages, whereas in civility they often put many *Europeans* to shame.

PRAETERITUM IMPERFECTUM

Singular

vichuvadicrane apo vichuvadieren " I believed "

Plural

vichuvadicreye apo vichuvadieron " we believed "

This is again *Praeteritum, Affirmativum and Negativum simplex vel honoris,* and so in the following :—

PRAETERITUM

Singular

vichuvaditen " I have believed " [*viśuvaśittēn*]

Plural

vichuvaditom " we have believed [*viśuvaśittōm*]

PLUSQUAMPERFECTUM

Singular

a ducu mune vichuvaditay " I had believed " [*Adukku munnē viśuvaśittāy*]

Plural

a ducu mune vichuvaditon " we had believed [*Adukku munnē viśuvaśittōm*]

FUTURUM

Singular

vichuvadipen " *I shall believe* " [viśuvaśippēn]

Plural

vichuvadipon " *we shall believe* " [viśuvaśippōm]

We do not deem it necessary to add the entire Conjugation: because the language has hitherto been unknown to our Nation we shall await what results of these small principles the time will show.

OUR FATHER IN MALABARIC

Vanan galil yrucrà engàl pidàve unureya namam ellateum chutam—
In coelis qui es Pater noster nomen tuum sanctifi-
ga unureya irakjam vara un manadin paryel à navargal vanayil cheyuma
cetur; regnum tuum adveniat; voluntas tua fiat in terra ut in coelo; da
pelepymylum elarum cheya andandulla engàl pileycaran carracucù
panem nostrum nobis singulis dietus; remitte nobis debita nostra, ut
nàngal pava carangaley perru: engaley tolxatrichù è duvagù ottàde
debitoribus nostris remittimus nos: non inducas in tentationem nos
engalucù Polangn varāmal vilagù &c. Amen.
sed verum á malo libera tu nos. fiat.

THE CREED IN MALABARIC

Vanamum pumium pareyta charvatucum vala pidavagmia tambyra-
Coeli terraeque creatorem omnipotentem ego Patrem in Deum

neye vichuvadicren. Avanureya maguan oruven namureya nayen
credo &c. in Filium ejus unigenitum Jesum
Christum vichuvadicren.
Christum credo etc.

Yven chetamàna espirity màl chanitù kanni Marial &c. vaitil nindù
Conceptus ex Sanctum Spiritum qui natus ex virgine Maria.

pirranda Ponxio Pilatin kil parulattu cruxile arraiandù chetù aracapata padalangalil erri charurvatucum valla pidaguia tambiram Balagapatil irucran

avaratil nindu irucra vagalacùm chetavargalucùm narutytha varnvan. Chutamana espiritù veye vichuvadicren. Chutamana vargal custanùm undanu vichuvadicren. Pileygal Porrutalu chetavargàl huirtalum endendeycum ulla aytum vindanum vichuvadicren.

FINIS

[OUR FATHER in Malabaric—reconstructed version in Baldaeus' transliteration]

Vanangalil yrucrà engàl pidàve, unureya namam ellatcum chutamaga; unureya irakjam vara; un manadinparye vànavargal vanatil cheyumapele, pumylum elàrum cheya; andandulla engàl [appam engalucu indu tarum; engal] pileycaran [caralucù] nàngal [porrucumapole, engal] pava carangaley [engalucu] perru; engaley [tetritangalucù] èduvaga ottàde engalucù polàngu varàmal vilacù, Amen.

[THE CREED in Malabaric—reconstructed version in Baldaeus' transliteration]

Vanamum pumium pareyta charvatucum vala pidavaguia tambyraneye vichuvadicren. Avanureya maguan oruven namureyà nayen Xeju Christeye vichuvadicren.

Yven chutamàna espirituvàl chanitù kanni Marial &c. vaitil nindu pirrandan; Ponxio Pilatin kil parupattu cruxile arraiyundù, chetù, aracapatan; padalangalil [irrangi, mundam nal maritavargal iratile irundu uirtelundan; vanatil] erri charruvatucum valla pidaguia tambiran [valdu pagatil] irucran. Aviratil nindu irucravagalucum chetavargalucum [narutirca] varuvan. Chutamana espiritùveye vichuvadicren. Pileygal porrutalum chetavargàl huirtalum endendeycum ulla aytum [*i.e.*, aysum] [undena] vichuvadicren.

OUR FATHER in Malabaric [transliteration in accordance with Modern Tamil Pronunciation]

Vāṉaṅgaḷil[1] *irukkira*[2] *eṅgaḷ pidāvē*[3], *uṉṉuḍaiya nāmam ellārkkuñ*[4] *cuttamāga uṉṉuḍaiya irācciyam vara.*[5] *Un maṉattinpaḍi vāṉavargaḷ vāṉattir ceyyumāp pōḷē*[6] *pūmiyilum ellāruñ ceyya. Aṉṟaṉṟulla eṅgaḷappam*[7] *eṅgaḷukku iṉṟu tā; eṅgaḷ piḷaikaḍaṉkārarukku*[8] *nāṅgaḷ poṟukkumāp pōlē nīyumeṅgaḷ pāvakadaṉgaḷaip poṟu; Eṅgaḷait teṟṟitaṅgaḷukku*[9] *ēduvāga oṭṭāde*[10] *eṅgaḷukku pollāṅgu varāmal*[11] *vilakku.*[12]

THE CREED in-Malabaric [Modern transliteration]

Vāṉamum pūmiyum[13] *paḍaitta carvattukkum*[14] *valla pidāvāṉa tambirāṉaiye viśuvaśikkiṟēṉ.*[15] *Avaṉuḍaiya magaṉ oruvaṉ nammuḍaiya iśēśukkirīśittaiye*[16] *viśuvaśikkiṟēṉ. Ivaṉ cuttamāṉa iśippirīttuvināle*[17] *caṉittuk kaṉṉi Mariāḷ vayiṟṟil*

ninṟu[18] *pirandāṉ. Poñciyop Pilātliṉ kīḻp*[19] *pādupaṭṭuk kuruśilē araiyuṇḍu cettu* [*ceṟṟu* ?] *aḍakkappaṭṭāṉ. Pātāḷaṅgaḷil iraṅgi mūṉṟā*[*m*] *nāḷc cettavargal* [*ceṟṟavargaḷ*] *idaiyilninṟu uyirttāṉ.......Aviḍattil ninṟu irukkiṟavargaḷukkun*[20] *cettavargalukkum naḍuttīrkka,*[21] *etc. etc., Ā meṉ.*

APPENDIX

Notes on the Phonetic and other Peculiarities of the Malabaric.

The following are the phonetic and other peculiarities noted by me in the "Malabaric" in comparing the original "Malabaric" script and the transliteration of BALDAEUS. The script is essentially a Tamil script, but there are instances of certain ways of writing at one or two places that are now common only in Malayalam. [The numbers below correspond to the ones in the texts given above] :

1. The dots which are now used in writing over letters to denote surds are absent in the present version.
2. The sound ṟ is represented by a letter which resembles more the modern Malayalam letter ṟ than the corresponding modern Tamil letter.
3. The same sign is used to represent both long ē and short e̱. Probably the old system of writing a dot on this sign is left out in the present version.
4. As written in this version, this word reads : *ellāṟkum*, evidently reflecting the apparent similarity of pronunciation of *ṟk* and *rkk* which is found even today.
5. The distinction, in writing, between the sign for *r* and the sign for the long *ā* is not found in this version.
6. What applies to e̱ and ē applies to o̱ and ō [see note 3].
7. The nominative form is used for the accusative as is common to-day.
8. *Kāṟarukku,* as written in the text. The first ṟ [of this word] in Malabar colloquial pronunciation even today is ṟ and the second is *r*. The distinction between the sounds *r* and ṟ is very marked even to-day in Malabar [and less so in Tamilnad], although in this particular instance, *kārar*, the distinction apparently is incorrectly maintained. This confusion indicates that the word could probably be a borrowal from another language, evidently Sanskrit, in which the *r* is intermediate between the two Tamil [or Malabaric] sounds *r* and ṟ. It is usual, however, in standard Tamil to represent Skt. *r* by the *T. r* in script.
9. *Teṟṟilaṅkku,* as written. *Teṟṟu* in Tamil and Malayalam means 'wrong'. However, the word is no longer in common use in modern Tamil, whereas it is one of the commonest words in modern Malayalam. Perhaps the two

forms *terru* and *territam* were in common use at the time BALDAEUS wrote, just as to-day in Tamil *tappu* and *tappitam* are in common use. This and other such instances seem to suggest that the colloquial forms of Tamil and Malayalam even as late as the time of BALDAEUS had greater resemblance to each other than can ever be imagined to-day! The pronunciation of *terru* in Modern Malayalam is *tettu*. This perhaps suggests that before the time the word fell into disuse in Tamil the pronunciation of all -*rr*- words in Tamil had been -ṭṭ-. *Cf.* for a discussion of Tamil and Malayalam -*rr*-, S. K. CHATTERJI, *Old Tamil, Ancient Tamil and Primitive Dravidian, Indian Linguistics*, Vol. 14, pp. 1–19. *Cf.* also, *Tamil Lexicon*, terrutal [M. *terruka*], to mistake, commit a fault, do wrong: " terriṉār *puraṅgal cerrār* " [Periyapu., Tirunila kaṇṭa].

10. The word *oṭṭādē*, 'not allowing', is peculiar to the colloquial Tamil dialects, particularly, of Malabar. Neither the *Tamil Lexicon*, nor Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary, has cited this word even as a colloquialism!

11. *Vārāmal*, as written.

12. *Vilaku*, as written. When this is also compared with BALDAEUS' transliteration it looks as though the geminates were pronounced or heard as simple voiceless stops. At the time of BALDAEUS, therefore, the modern tendency of pronouncing single intervocalic surds as voiced consonants seems to have already taken a firm root. *Cf.* S. K. CHATTERJI, *ibid.*, p. 13, *et seq.* and C. R. SANKARAN, Some Problemsin Kannada Linguistics, Research Lectures Series No. 7, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, 1954.

13. *Pumiyum*, as written. This is one of the instances in which the clear-cut difference between long and short vowels that is found in the Dravidian languages has been missed by early European observers. BALDÆUS' transcription in most places ignores this important distinction.

14. *Caruvattukkum*, as written [see note 8].

15. *Viccuvadikkiṟēn*, as written. The substitution of *d* for the Skt. *s*, is confined to this one instance and is difficult to account for except by stretching the imagination a little too much.

16. *Cf.* the modern pronunciation *Kiristu* with the pronunciation suggested by the present text, *viz.*, *Kiriśittu.* The consonantal ending, as in English *Christ*, seems to have been attempted in the original text, as revealed by the presence of the geminate -*tt*- followed by the vowel *u* in the word *Kiriśittu.* Later the u seems to have assumed a more definite value *u*, as in the modern pronunciation of this particular word.

17. The present pronunciation *janittu* seems to be due to the increasing familiarity with the Skt. language, instead of the original pronunciation, as

revealed by the presence of the final *-c* in the previous word in the text, viz., *caṉittu.*

18. This is found to be *nindu* in BALDAEUS' transliteration. The mod. T. pronunciation *-ndr-* does not seem to have been originally there. The mod. M. pronunciation of *-ṉr-* is the same as that suggested in Baldaeus' transliteration.

19. The evident confusion between *ḷ* and *l̤*, peculiar to the colloquial form of speech, is reflected here.

20. The reading of BALDÆUS as *irukkira-va-galukkum* in place of *irukkira-var-galukkum*, is perhaps owing to the same sign being used in the original script for *-r-* and for the long *ā*.

21. *Naḍuttarka*, as written. The word *naḍuttīrkka* has been suggested to be the probable true version by Fr. GNANAPRAGASAM, S.J., to whom I am indebted for the suggestion and for a thorough reading and interpretation of the original text.

MUKHYA AND GAUṆA WORDS IN LANGUAGE

By

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

A word is called *Mukhya* when it is used in its primary sense, while it is known as *gauṇa* when it is used in its secondary sense on the basis of the primary sense. Our *Śāstrakāras* have explained various significative powers of *śabda* to convey different senses—*abhidhāśakti*, *lakṣaṇā* and *vyañjanā*. A word conveys its primary sense by *abhidhāśakti*—the primary significative power or potency. It can be known by various means, such as the Science of Grammar, which gives the etymology or derivation of many words in language coming under the category of *yaugika*-derivatives. The other means of *śaktigraha* (the knowledge of the primary significatory power of *a śabda*) are mentioned in the famous stanza[1] :—

śaktigraham vyākaraṇopamānakośāptavākyād vyavahāratas ca |
vākyasya śeṣād vivṛter vadanti sāṃnidhyataḥ siddhapadasya vṛddhāḥ ||

There are many conventional words (*rūḍha*) and partly conventional and partly derivative words (*yogarūḍha*) the primary meanings of which can be known with the help of analogy (*upamānapramāṇa*), the well-known lexicons (*kośas*), the statements of true reliable persons (*āptavākyas*), the conversation and transaction of the teacher and the student or the master and the servant (*uttamamadhyama-vṛddhavyavahāra*), the supplementary statement in a particular context (*vākyaśeṣa*), explanatory and commenting notes (*vivṛti*) and the association of a word or words with well-known meanings (*siddha-pada-sāṃnidhya*).

As to the operation of this *abhidhāśakti* various theories are prevalent. There are different kinds of words—some are expressive of a generality like *go* and *aśva*, some express a quality like *nīla* and *pīta*, and some others convey an action like *cala*. There are a few others which are called *yadṛcchāśabdas* (like the proper names) which are without a definite basis of usage (*pravṛttinimitta*).

Mīmāṃsakas opine that words convey by *abhidhāśakti* the adjuncts only (*viśeṣaṇa*), like the generality, quality or action, and that the individuals (vyakti) possessing these adjuncts are known from these words either by *lakṣaṇā* (the secondary significative power) or by *ākṣepa* (presumption). Some others, such as the Naiyāyikas, hold the view that both the adjuncts and the individuals possessing them are conveyed by the words by their *abhidhāśakti*. Yet others view that only the individuals are known by the primary significative power.[2]

1. vide *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* (N.S. Ed.), pp. 349-372.
2. vide *ibid.* pp. 372-384 ; Also V. A. R. Sastri's *monograph on Jagannātha Paṇḍita* (A.U. S.S. No. 8), pp. 141-142.

The primary significative power of a *śabda*, called *abhidhā*, is explained by some as the time-honoured convention—*anādisaṃketa*—that is presented to us even today by the unbroken tradition of usage. Some others, like the Naiyāyikas, understand it as the divine Will—*Īśvarecchā*—that such and such a word is to convey such and such a meaning—*asmāt padād ayam artho boddhavya itīśvarasaṃketaḥ śaktiḥ.*[3] The meaning that is first known from the word is the primary meaning—*mukhyārtha*, where the word *mukhya* is interpreted as *mukhe bhavaḥ* "that which is first known"; because it is first known unconditionally it is considered the most important meaning also, when the word *mukhya* is taken in the sense of "important."

In regard to the homonyms (*nānārthakaśabdas*) which convey more than one meaning Bhartṛhari gives fourteen conditions which would help one to understand the exact meaning of the word in question. They are enumerated by him in his *Vākyapadīya*, second kāṇḍa, st. 315-16—(1) *saṃyoga*, (2) *viprayoga*, (3) *sāhacarya*, (4) *virodha*, (5) *artha*, (6) *prakaraṇa*, (7) *liṅga*, (8) *anyaśabdasaṃnidhi*. (9) *sāmarthya*, (10) *aucitī*, (11) *deśa*, (12) *kāla*, (13) *vyakti* and (14) *svara*.

(1) *saṃyoga* is the relation or property that is well-known as belonging to a particular object conveyed by the word by its *abhidhāśakti*. In the example '*saśaṅkhacakro hariḥ*,' "Hari possessing the bugle and the wheel" the relation, viz., the contact of one with the two symbols *śaṅkha* and *cakra*, which are well-known as belonging to Lord *Viṣṇu* and no one else, determines the sense of the word *hari* as "*Viṣṇu*."

(2) *viprayoga* is the removal of that property described under *saṃyoga*. In the example '*aśaṅkhacakro hariḥ*' "Hari without *śaṅkha* and *cakra*" the removal of these two symbols once existing decides the meaning of the word *hari* as "*Viṣṇu*."

(3) *sāhacarya* is mutual contact or dependence in a common cause. In the compound '*rāmalakṣmaṇau*' both *Rāma* and *Lakṣmaṇa* are known as mutually related by birth and working in a common cause; this relation determines the meaning of the word *Rāma* as "the son of king Daśaratha."

(4) *virodha* is the enmity which determines the meanings of the ambiguous words "*Rāma*" and "*Arjuna*" in the compound '*rāmārjunau*'. The enmity between the two men Paraśurāma and Kārtavīryārjuna determines the meanings of those two words.

(5) *artha* is the fruit conveyed by the dative case which determines the meaning of the word *sthāṇu* in the statement '*sthāṇuṃ bhaja bhavacchide*': here the destruction of the ties of *saṃsāra* is the fruit indicated by the dative case.

3. vide *Siddhāntamuktāvali*, pp. 358-50.

(6) *prakaraṇa* is the context which determines the meaning of the word *deva* in the statement '*sarvaṃ jānāti devaḥ*' when this is said by a faithful servant to his master. Here the word *deva* means "king" or "master."

(7) *Liṅga* is a symbol found in another passage near by and it determines the meaning of the ambiguous word in question. It is illustrated by the Vedic passage '*aktāḥ śarkarā upadadhāti*', where the word *aktāḥ* "wet" is not complete. The arthavāda passage near by, '*tejo vai ghṛtam*,' which praises ghee as the giver of light or illumination helps to determine the meaning of the word *aktāḥ* as "wet, or moistened, by ghee." Otherwise the praise is out of place. This is explained in *Pūrvamīmāṃsāśāstra* by the famous *sūtra* '*saṃdigdheṣu vākyaśeṣāt*' (i. 4·13 (24)).

(8) *anyaśabdasaṃnidhi* is the usage of two ambiguous words together, where one determines the meaning of the other. In the example '*kareṇa* rājate nāgaḥ' the words *kareṇa* and *nāgaḥ*, both ambiguous, determine their senses to be "*trunk*" and "*elephant*" respectively, in that only the elephant shines with its trunk and not others like the serpent.

(9) *sāmarthya* is interpreted as causation. In the example '*madhunā mattaḥ kokilaḥ*', "the cuckoo is elated in spring" the cause is the advent of the spring season. So the word *madhu* means only the spring season. It is also interpreted as one's own internal capacity by the illustration '*anudarā kanyā*', which means that the girl has no stout or bulky stomach which would mar her inherent beauty.

(10) *aucitī* is propriety and fitness. It is illustrated by the passage '*pātu vo dayitāmukham*' where the word *mukha* means "the face of the beloved in a happy mood," which alone is capable of pleasing love-lorn people.

(11, 12). *deśa* and *kāla* are place and time which also determine the meaning of a *nānārthaśabda*. In the instance '*bhāty atra parameśvaraḥ*' the word *atra* referring to a particular place—kingdom or city—determines the sense of the word *parameśvara* as the king of the particular place. Similarly, in the example '*citrabhānur divā bhāti*' the word *divā* meaning "at day-time" helps one to make out the sense of the word *citrabhānu* as "sun."

(13) *vyakti* is interpreted as the gender of a word which also determines the meaning of the words. In the instances '*mitro bhāti*', '*mitraṃ bhāti*' the gender of *mitra* indicates the intended sense of the word—the masculine gender indicating the sense "Sun-god," and the neuter gender that of a "friend."

(14) *svara* is the accent of a word. In the famous Vedic example '*indraśatrur vardhasva*' the *antodāttasvara* and the *pūrvapada-prakṛtisvara*, viz. *ādyudātta* determine the variety of compound. That is, if it is *antodātta*, it is a *tatpuruṣa* in the sense "destroyer of Indra"; if it is *ādyudātta*, it is *bahuvrīhi* in the sense of "one whose destroyer is *Indra*."

About *mukhya* and *gauṇa* words Bhartṛhari gives various views. He is a believer in the existence of *akhaṇḍavākya* and *akhaṇḍavākyārtha*, but he accepts the empirical reality of words and their meanings for the worldly usage—*lokavyavahāra*. On the basis of their empirical reality, on which the explanation of words in *vyākaraṇaśāstra* is founded, he explains the terms *mukhya* and *gauṇa*. He says that some *śabdaikyavādins* are of opinion that one and the same word conveys by its inherent power different meanings on the basis of context and other conditions. That word is called *mukhya* when it conveys the most well-known meaning (*prasiddhārtha*) and it is called *gauṇa* when it conveys the remote meaning which is not so well-known (*aprasiddhārtha*) as the other one.[4] And it is the *prasiddhi* and the *aprasiddhi* that determine the priority and the subsequence of the knowledge of the meanings therefrom. The word 'go'—conveys "cow" possessing the dewlap and the other characteristics (*sāsnādimat*) first by *prasiddhi*, and the sense of a "*vāhīka*" only after some time. Similarly on the basis of their *prasiddhi* one and the same *mantra* is utilized for *japa* in the meditation of some higher power (*adhyātma-*) and for sacrificial purposes to please the gods (*ādhidaiva-* or *adhikratu-*). The meanings of these words are also of two kinds—*mukhya* and *gauṇa*. The word *go-* conveys *gotva-* ("cow-ness") as its *mukhyārtha*, and it conveys *gotva-* in a superimposed manner as found in *vāhīka* on the basis of dullness (*jāḍya-*); hence this latter sense is called *gauṇa*. According to Grammarians the form of the *śabda*—*śabdasvarūpa* - — is the meaning of each and every word and it continues to exist in both the meanings—cow and *Vāhīka*.[5]

According to those *śabdabhedavādins* who accept the difference of *śabdas* conveying *mukhyārtha* and *gauṇārtha*, the difference is to be explained on the basis of the difference in the meanings. The relation between the word and its sense, according to these people, is that of a superimposed nature—*adhyāsalakṣaṇa* - —; so when one meaning is superimposed on the word, another superimposition cannot take place; hence *śabdabheda* on the basis of *arthabheda*. Even in the Vedas the first and the last *mantras* of the 11 or 13 *sāmidhenīs* are repeated thrice—'*triḥ prathamām anvāha, trir uttamām*', in order to make up the number 15 or 17; and this repetition makes the difference in the forms of those *mantras* even. This is the view of the *śabdabhedavādins*. So also the *mantras* become different when they have different utility—*viniyoga*—as in the instances of *ūha*-substitution of a word or words in the instance '*agnaye tvā juṣṭam nirvapāmi*, where the word *agnaye* is substituted by the word *sūryāya* when the *mantra* is transferred as an accessory to the *Sauryeṣṭi* by *atideśa* from the *Āgneya* sacrifice belonging to the *Darśapūrṇamāsa* group. By this process of substitution or repetition they never cease to be Vedic *mantras*. If these processes are not accepted, Bhartṛhari argues that the entire Veda would have to be declared as meaningless—*anarthaka*.[6]

4. vide Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*, II, st. 250-52, and Puṇyarāja's commentary, pp. 186-87 (Benares Ed. 1887).
5. vide *Vākyapadīya*, st. 253-56.
6. vide *Vākyapadīya*, st. 257-59, pp. 189-90.

So also the *mantra* used for a *saṃskāra* in a *karman* and for *japa* (meditation) is to be understood as different inasmuch as it has different utility—*viniyoga*.[7] The identity known in such instances is based on similarity in form.

Bhartṛhari explains this same principle in the cases of *vākya* and *vākyārtha* to call them *mukhya* and *gauṇa*[8] and it may be added that this division of *mukhya* and *gauṇa* is made possible through the *padas* and *padārthas* which are to be considered empirically real by adopting the process of *apoddhāra*.

Another explanation of these terms *mukhya* and *gauṇa* (as given by the *Saṃgrahakāra*) is that which has the basis of its form only for its usage (without the help of any external agency) is called *mukhya* whereas it is called *gauṇa* when it is used after knowing its usage on its *mukhya* sense on the basis of context and other conditions.[9]

A few others explain that the *gauṇa* is conditioned (*nimittin-*) because its usage is entirely based on that of the primary sense as *nimitta*.[10] The *mukhya* conveys more attributes while the *gauṇa* expresses only a select few. The *gauṇa* may express the individual with the generic and other attributes on the basis of similarity, whereas the *mukhya* conveys both[11]—the individual (*vyakti*) and its generality or other attributes.

The secondary usage of a word in a sense closely or remotely associated with its primary sense is based on two main conditions. First there should be *anupapatti*—absurdity or incompatibility of the primary sense in the context; secondly the *sambandha* "relation," close or remote, between the primary and secondary senses of the word. This relation is very important and so the Naiyāyikas define *lakṣaṇā*, the secondary significative potency of *śabda*, as '*śakyasambandha*' "the relation of the secondary sense to the primary sense," and through the knowledge of this relation the relation between the word and its secondary sense is known.

On the basis of the different kinds of this relation *lakṣaṇā* is divided by *Ācārya Bhartṛmitra* into five kinds in the following *Kārikā* :

> *abhidheyeva sārūpyāt sāmīpyāt samavāyataḥ |*
> *vaiparītyāt kriyāyogāl lakṣaṇā pañcadhā matā ||*[12]

"*Lakṣaṇā* (including *gauṇī*) has five kinds on the basis of five different relations between the primary and secondary senses : (1) *sārūpya* "similarity", (2) *sāmīpya*

7. vide ib. st. 261, p. 191.
8. vide ib. st. 262-64, pp. 192-93.
9. vide ib. st. 265-66, p. 193.
10. vide ib. st. 267, p. 193.
11. vide ib. st. 273, p. 196.
12. For a full elucidation of this Kārikā with illustrations see *Locana*, pp. 271-85 (Madras Ed., K.S.R.I. 1944).

" proximity " ; (3) *samavāya* " contact or association " ; (4) *vaiparītya* " opposite nature " ; and (5) *kriyāyoga* " the casual relation (*kāryakāraṇabhāva*)." These may be illustrated as follows: the first is illustrated by the popular examples like '*agnir māṇavakaḥ*', '*siṃho māṇavakaḥ*', where the words *agni* and *siṃha* cannot convey their primary senses " fire " and " lion," since they cannot be identified with the *māṇavaka* " boy." So there is the absurdity of the primary sense in the context, and the words convey by the secondary significative power the intended senses of " one possessing the qualities like brilliance and valour " etc. similar to those of fire and lion. Hence the relation between the primary sense and the secondary sense is *sārūpya*, similarity which consists in the fact that the two objects are different yet possess many qualities in common.

(2) *Sāmīpya*, proximity between the primary and the secondary senses in the well-known example '*gaṅgāyāṃ ghoṣaḥ*' " the hamlet (is) on the Ganges." Here the hamlet cannot exist on the current of the Ganges. This explains one condition of *lakṣaṇā*, viz., the *anupapatti* ; and the word *gaṅgā* conveys by *lakṣaṇā* the bank (*tīra*) which has its proximity to the current that is the primary sense of the word *gaṅgā*. This proximity—*sāmīpya*—is the relation between the primary and the secondary senses of the word, viz. " current " and " bank."

(3) *samavāya* is relation which is illutrated by '*yaṣṭīḥ praveśaya*' " Allow all sticks to enter." This primary sense of the statement is absurd because the sticks cannot enter themselves, so the word *yaṣṭi* means *yaṣṭidhara*, the person or persons possessing them. Here the relation is *samavāya* between the sticks and the persons possessing them, the primary and secondary senses of the word *yaṣṭi*.

(4) *vaiparītya* is illustrated by the well-known examples like *darśa* in the sense of " new-moon day." It conveys by *abhidhā*, on the basis of the derivation *dṛśyate'smin candramāḥ*, that day when the moon is seen, but it is used in the sense of that day when the moon cannot be seen at all. This is by *lakṣaṇā* based on *vaiparītya* " the opposite nature of the two senses of the word," primary and secondary. Similarly the word *autpattika* in the sense of nitya " eternal " is another striking illustration of *vaiparītya*. In these instances the primary sense is absurd in the context and the opposite of that sense is conveyed by *lakṣaṇā*.

(5) *kriyāyoga* is explained as causal relation. It is illustrated by the example '*prāṇān ayaṃ harati*', " this person is taking the very life," where the word *prāṇa* is used in the secondary sense since he takes away the " life-giving food " only. Here the relation between the primary and secondary senses is that between cause and the effect.

Another well-known classification of *lakṣaṇā* is that into *nirūḍhā* and *prayojanavatī*. Each of these two is further divided into *gauṇī* and *śuddhā*. Under *gauṇī* of *prayojanavatī* there is a further division into *sāropā* and *sādhyāvasānā*,

while *śuddhā* has four varieties : *jahatsvārthā*, *ajahatsvārthā*, *sāropā*, and *sādhyavasānā*. Thus *lakṣaṇā* has eight varieties, according to the *Ālaṃkārikas*.[13] They also accept the third significative power of *śabda* called *vyañjanā* "suggestion" to convey the *prayojana* element under *prayojanavatī*.

The Naiyāyika view is that *lakṣaṇā* is of two kinds, *gauṇī* and *śuddhā* ; *śuddhā* has three varieties : *jahallakṣaṇā*, *ajahallakṣaṇā*, *jahadajahallakṣaṇā*, of which the first two are identical with *jahatsvārthā* and *ajahatsvārthā* of the Ālaṃkārikas mentioned above. They accept an additional variety—*Jahad-ajahallakṣaṇā*- which is illustrated by the famous mahāvākya—*tat tvam asi*.[14]

The Mīmāṃsakas however accept *gauṇī* as a separate power of *śabda* which is explained by the famous *sūtra* in *Pūrvamīmāṃsāśāstra* : *tatsiddhi-jāti-sārūpya-praśaṃsā-bhūma-liṅgasamavāyā iti guṇāśrayāḥ*-[15] They explain the difference between *lakṣaṇā* and *gauṇī* by the fact that what is known as the relation between the primary sense and the secondary sense in instances of *lakṣaṇā* is known in those of *gauṇī* with the special attributes of those common qualities like *krūratva*, in the well-known example *siṃho māṇavakaḥ*.[16]

Nirūḍhalakṣaṇā is illustrated by words like *anukūla*, *pratikūla*, *anuloma* and *pratiloma*. It is based on time-honoured usage without any reference to its derivation. Since there is unintelligibility of the derivative sense of the word *anukūla*, viz. *kūlam anugataḥ* "that which is suitable to the bank" in the instance *ayam anukūlaḥ*, it conveys through the relation of some similarity the sense of *anuguṇa* "that which is favourable or suitable."[17]

The two varieties of *gauṇī*, *sāropā* "bilaterally identifying" and *sādhyavasānā* "unilaterally identifying," have supposititious identification as the basis. The difference between these two varieties consists in the fact that in the former the two objects—the compared and the comparable—are separately mentioned when their identity is spoken of, but in the latter their identity is described without the separate mention of the *upamāna* "comparable object." The former is illustrated by the popular example '*mukham candraḥ*' "the (damsel's) face is the moon." Here the two objects are separately mentioned when their identity is described. The word *candra* means by *sāropalakṣaṇā* *candraśadṛśa* "similar to the moon," which is related to "face" by *abheda* "identity" on the basis of the well-known rule—*nāmārthayor abhedaḥ saṃsargaḥ* "*abheda* or identity is the relation between the meanings of the two substantives denoting the same object through different *pravṛttinimittas*, "connoted attributes."[18]

13. vide V. A. R. Sastri's *Jagannātha Paṇḍita*, pp. 143-56.
14. vide *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* ib. pp. 385-392.
15. vide *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra* I, 4, 13 (29).
16. vide *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* (N.S. Ed. 1921), pp. 119-20.
17. vide V. A. R. Sastri's *Jagannātha Paṇḍita*, p. 144.
18. vide ib. 144-154.

The *sādhyavasānā* is illustrated by the statement '*candrarājī virājate*' there shines a row of moons." Here various theories are propounded by the Ālamkārikas. One of them is that in the instance cited above " face " is not known as " face " but as " moon," as in an invalid perception. The distinctive feature of this is the non-recognition of the face as face, i.e. of the object compared (" face ") with " faceness " (*mukhatva*) as the *viṣayatāvacchedaka* "the determining adjunct of *viṣayatā*." It is contended by some that in the instances of *sādhyavasānā* *Sahṛdayas* have a cognition presenting the *viṣaya* (the face) in both the capacities of *viṣaya* and *viṣayin* (face and moon).[19]

The main varieties of *śuddhā* are illustrated by popular examples. The *jahallakṣaṇā* is illustrated by the well-known instance '*gaṅgāyāṃ ghoṣaḥ*', which has already been explained under *sāmīpya* relation. The *ajahallakṣaṇā* is illustrated by the statements '*yaṣṭīḥ praveśaya*' and '*kākebhyo dadhi rakṣyatām*'. The first has been explained above under the relation *samavāya*. In the other example the word *kāka* does not merely mean the " crow " but all that would create obstruction to curd: *dadhyupaghātaka* is conveyed by the ajahallakṣaṇā. The third variety is illustrated by the famous *mahāvākya* in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* '*tat tvam asi*', " that thou art," which explains the identity between the *jīvātman* and the *paramātman*. Here the two pronouns *tat* and *tvam* convey by *abhidhā* the senses of *sarvajñatva-viśiṣṭa-caitanya* and *kiṃcijñatva-viśiṣṭa-caitanya*, the identity of which is explained by the word *asi*. This identity of the two *caitanyas* with opposite attributes cannot be established: this explains the first condition of *lakṣaṇā*, viz. *anupapatti*, and the two pronouns convey by *jahadajahallakṣaṇā* only the *viśeṣya* sense, viz. the *caitanyas*, by completely omitting the attributes which are opposite in nature; these two *caitanyas* can be declared identical when they are stripped of their attributes. And this is what is meant by the upaniṣadic passage '*tat tvam asi*'.[20] The Advaita Vedāntins accept this kind of *lakṣaṇā* on this *mahāvākya* which explains the *jīvabrahmābheda* as the fundamental truth of upaniṣads on the basis of various *tātparyaliṅgas* like *upakrama*, *upasaṃhāra*, etc.[21]

The definition of *lakṣaṇā* is given in various ways by different schools of thought. The modern Grammarians explain it as '*śakyatāvacchedakāropo lakṣaṇā*' " *lakṣaṇā* is the superimposition of the delimiting adjunct of *śakyatā*, the property of the primary sense of the word." In the example '*gaṅgāyāṃ ghoṣaḥ*' the word *gaṅgā* conveys by *lakṣaṇā* the sense bank as possessing *gaṅgātva*, the *śakyatāvacchedaka*, by superimposition; and this superimposition helps one easily to understand from this statement the *prayojana* element, viz. the coolness, sacredness, etc., the rare qualities of the current of the Ganges, as associated with the bank. The Naiyāyika definition is '*śakyasaṃbandho lakṣaṇā*' which is simpler and has already been explained.

19. vide ib. 155-156.
20. vide *Nyāyabodhinī*, p. 66, (Madras Edition).
21. vide *Mānasollāsa*, st. 10-20 (on st. 3), pp. 68-72 (Benares Ed.).

The Mīmāṃsakas explain *lakṣaṇā* as the possession of a relation to the primary sense—*svavācyasambandhavattvam.* In the example '*gaṅgāyāṃ ghoṣaḥ*' the secondary sense of the word *gaṅgā*, viz. bank, possesses a relation (*saṃyoga*) to the current of the Ganges, the primary sense of the word *gaṅgā*. So they say *lakṣaṇā* is adopted in the word *gaṅgā* in order to get the cognition of the bank from the word *gaṅgā*. When the word *gaṅgā* conveys the primary sense—the current—by *abhidhā*, its related object, viz. the bank, is remembered (by the rule *ekasambandhijñānam aparasaṃbandhismārakam*) and this helps to get the cognition of the possession of the relation to the primary sense of the word in question. The verbal cognition arising from a statement involving *lakṣaṇā* has got the secondary sense, viz. bank (in the above example) as the *viśeṣya* (subject) and ' bankness ' (*tīratva*) associated with the current as the *prakāra* (attribute). In the definition of *lakṣaṇā* given by the *Vārttikakāra*—' *abhidheyāvinābhūte pravṛttir lakṣaṇe'ṣyate* ', the word *avinābhūta* explains only some relation, not an invariable relation like that between fire and smoke, as the instances of *lakṣaṇā* involve all kinds of relations.[22]

They further explain the difference between *lakṣaṇā* and *gauṇī* on the basis of the difference in the verbal cognitions arising therefrom. When the relation in the body of the *prakāra* is known as relation only, then it is called *lakṣaṇā* ; when it is not known as relation but known with its special property, it is *gauṇī*. In the example '*gāṅgāyāṃ ghoṣaḥ* ' where the relation (*saṃyoga*) between the bank and the current is known as *relation* only—*gaṅgāsaṃbandhitīre ghoṣaḥ* " the hamlet is on the bank associated with the current " it is *lakṣaṇā* ; but when it is known as *gaṅgāniṣṭhasaṃyogavati tīre ghoṣaḥ* " the hamlet is on the bank possessing the contact with the current of the Ganges" where *saṃyoga* ("contact") is known, not as a relation but with its specific property, viz. *saṃyogatva*.[23] The *Vārttika*

> '*lakṣyamāṇaguṇair yogāt,*
> *vṛtter iṣṭā tu gauṇatā* '

explains the *gauṇī vṛtti* in the examples like ' *agnir māṇavakaḥ* ', on the basis of qualities known by *lakṣaṇā*. This involves a fallacy, viz. *vṛttidvayasvīkāra*, the operation of both *lakṣaṇā* and *gauṇī* on one and the same word. To avoid this defect later Mīmāṃsakas like *Khaṇḍadevamiśra* and *Śambhubhaṭṭa* explain the compound *lakṣyamāṇaguṇaiḥ* in the *Vārttika* cited above not as a *karmadhāraya* but as a *tatpuruṣa* : *lakṣyamāṇāyā* (*vyakteḥ*) *guṇaiḥ*. The word *agni* conveys *agnitvajāti* by *abhidhā* and the *agnivyakti* by *lakṣaṇā* (according to the *ākṛtyadhikaraṇa* 1, 3, 9) and the qualities of the fire-like brightness are recollected and they are known by *gauṇīvṛtti* as existing in the boy on the basis of *sādṛśya*. This is what is explained in the following *vārttika*—*yathaiva ākṛtivacanaḥ śabdaḥ tatsahacaritāṃ vyaktiṃ lakṣayati, tathaiva yaṣṭimañcāśvādayaḥ tatsaṃbaddhapuruṣalakṣaṇārthā bhavanti. Agnir māṇavaka iti tu nāgnitvāvinābhāvena māṇavakaḥ pratīyate*; *kiṃtu*

22. vide *Mīmāṃsākaustubha* I, 4, 12 (23), p. 278 (Benares Ed.).
23. vide ib. pp. 278-79.

vahnitvalakṣitād arthāt yat paingalyādi gamyate |
tena māṇavake buddhiḥ sādṛśyād upajāyate ||[24]

The Pūrvamīmāṃsā Sūtra 1 4, 12 (23) mentions six conditions of *gauṇī* which are very essential to explain many *arthavāda* and *vidhi* passages. The first is *tatsiddhi* which is interpreted as *mukhyārtha-kāryakāritva* " the capacity for doing the same function of the primary sense (of the word)." In the famous Vedic example '*yajamānaḥ prastaraḥ*' which is an *arthavāda* of the *prastaravidhi* '*prastaram uttarayoḥ barhiṣaḥ sādayati*' the word *yajamāna* praises *prastara* by *lakṣaṇā* which is based on *gauṇī* (*gauṇīgarbhā*), i.e. the word *yajamāna* conveys the sense of *yajamānakāryakārin*, i.e. just as *yajamāna* bears in his hand the *yajñapātras* " sacrificial vessels ", so also the *prastara*—a handful of *darbha* grass on which the *yajñapātras* are kept, bears them on its body ; hence it is called *yajamāna* and so it is praiseworthy—*praśasta*.

It is an accepted fact that in the well-known examples of *rūpakālaṃkāra* (like *saundaryasya taraṅgiṇī* " a (mighty) river of beauty ") *gauṇī* is found on the basis of *āropa* " superimposition " but in the instances of *upamālaṃkāra* it is found on the basis of *sādṛśya* only. So in the Vedas also all such instances are considered to be those on the basis of *sādṛśya* alone since superimposition, which requires a person to conceive, is not possible in the self-revealed Vedic texts (*apauruṣeya*). In the example '*yajamānaḥ prastaraḥ*' there is similarity between *yajamāna* and *prastara* since both are the accessories of the chief sacrifice and they both function alike as explained above.[25]

The next condition mentioned in the *sūtra* is *jāti* which is interpreted as the possession of the same origin or birth. The arthavāda passage '*agnir vai brhāmaṇaḥ*' praises the Brahmin as *agni*. Here the quality of *agni* viz. his birth from the face of *Prajāpati* is found also in the Brahmin, as the following vedic passage explains—'*prajāpatir akāmayata prajāḥ sṛjeyeti sa mukhatas trivṛtaṃ niramimīta tam agnir devatā anvāsṛjyata gāyatrī chando rathantaraṃ sāma brāhmaṇo manuṣyāṇām etc.*[26] The common quality between them therefore is the birth from the same source—*prajāpatimukha* (*ekaprajāpatimukhaprabhavatva*).

Sārūpya is another condition of *gauṇī* which is illustrated by the Vedic example '*ādityo yūpaḥ*'. Here the *yūpa* " sacrificial post " is praised as *āditya* in that it is as bright as the sun-god. Here the word *āditya* conveys by *gauṇī* the sense of brightness *tejasvitva*—found in the sun. The difference between *tatsiddhi* and *sārūpya* is explained by the fact that in the former the qualities of the *mukhyārtha* are known as *prakāras* by the relation of *sādṛśya* or *sārūpya* whereas in the latter

24. vide *Tantravārttika* I, 4, 12 (23), p. 354 (Ānandāśrama Ed.).
25. vide *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* and *Prabhāvalī*, i.b., pp. 119-20 (N.S. Ed.).
26. *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* II, 3, 3, 3.

sādṛśya or *sārūpya* is known as *prakāra* itself by the relation of *samavāya* or some other relation.[27]

The next condition of *gauṇī* mentioned in the *sūtra* is *praśaṃsā* "praise." It is illustrated by the Vedic passage '*apaśavo vā anye go-aśvebhyaḥ paśavo go-aśvāḥ* which negates that animals other than cows and horses are not *paśus*; this gives high praise to cows and horses in preference to other animals like sheep and goats. Here the word *apaśu* conveys by *gauṇī* the sense of *aja* and such other animals as do not possess the praiseworthy qualities of these two animals, cow and horse; and through this *gauṇī* it praises both cow and horse by *lakṣaṇā* since it is an *arthavāda* of the vidhi in the *Agnicayana sacrifice—purastāt pratīcīnam aśvasyopadadhāti paścāt prācīnam ṛṣabhasya.*[28] This passage cannot explain *apaśutva* in reference to *aja* and other animals because they are also enjoined as accessories of various *paśuyāgas* (*ajo'gnīṣomīyaḥ* etc.). So this condemnation of the other animals as *apaśus* is not to be taken in the literal sense but only as praise (*praśasti*) of the cow and the horse which are enjoined by the *vidhi* cited above.

This praśaṃsā is explained by the well-known '*nahi-nindānyāya*' wich runs thus—'*nahi nindā nindyam ninditum pravṛttā, api tu vidheyam stotum*', "the condemnation of a particular object is not mainly intended to condemn it but intended to praise another which is enjoined (by an injunction)."

Bhūman "excess" is the next condition of *gauṇī* mentioned in the *sūtra.* It is illustrated by the vedic injunction '*sṛṣṭīr upadadhāti*', where *apadhāna* "building of bricks in a particular form" is enjoined as the *saṃkāra* of bricks. Here the word *sṛṣṭi* means those *mantras* which contain the word *sṛṣṭi* and a few others without it, since the group of *mantras* in that *prakaraṇa* "section" contain the majority of those with the word *sṛṣṭi.* Since *upadhāna* is enjoined as the *saṃskāra* of bricks, the *mantra* being an accessory to *upadhāna* is not utilised for building each brick by the rule '*pratipradhānaṃ guṇāvṛttiḥ*'. This is the view of the *Bhāṣyakāra.*

The *Vārttikakāra* explains this *vidhi* in a slightly different manner. According to him both the *mantra* and *upadhāna* are enjoined so that the *mantras* are to be utilised only for the *upadhāna* and not for other actions like *grahaṇa*; and those bricks with a *brāhmaṇa* (*vidhi*) are to be built on the *madhyama-citi* according to the *vidhi*—'*yāṃ vai kāñcana brāhmaṇavatīm iṣṭakāṃ abhijānīyāt tām madhyamāyāṃ citāv upadadhyāt.*' Here the word *sṛṣṭi* conveys the sense of seventeen mantras of which fourteen contain the word *sṛṣṭi*; so *bhūman* "excess in number" is the condition of *gauṇī.* This is known by what is understood as *chattrinyāya.*[29]

27. vide *Bhāṭṭadīpikā*, p. 121.
28. vide *Prabhāvalī, ib.* 121.
29. vide *Bhāṭṭadīpikā*, pp. 122-26.

Liṅgasamavāya is the opposite of *bhūman*, viz., *alpatva*. It is illustrated by the injunction *prāṇabhṛta upadadhāti*, where the word *prāṇabhṛt* means the *mantra* or *mantras* with the word *prāṇa*. They are five only in a group of ten *mantras*: yet on the basis of alpatva the word conveys the group of ten by *gauṇī*.[30] Though the conditions mentioned here are overlapping in the sense that in one instance one or more conditions may be found, yet they can be considered to be separate conditions as instances of *gauṇī* are numerous in the Vedas and in the world languages also.

30. vide ib. p. 127.

RAJWADE-TEXT OF ŚRĪPATI'S JYOTIṢA-RATNA-MĀLĀ

By

M. G. PANSE

It is well known that the late Mr. V. K. RAJWADE, an indefatigable pioneer research scholar, had discovered and brought to light a number of documents and some inscriptions in connection with the history, language and literature of Maharashtra. In one of his tours he happened to come across a manuscript of a fragment of a unique work in Marathi being a commentary on ŚRIPATI's *Jyotiṣa-ratna-mālā,* a muhūrta grantha in Sanskrit verse written by the author himself.

ŚRĪPATI-BHAṬṬA, the author of *Jyotiṣa-ratna-mālā* and its Marathi commentary, lived in śaka 961 i.e. 1039 A.D. as has been established by Pandit SUDHAKAR DVIVEDI[1] on the strength of a clear reference to that date in *Dhīkoṭi-Karaṇa,*[2] another short work written by ŚRIPATI. This date has been accepted by THIBAUT and also by S. B. DIXIT in his "*History of Indian Astronomy*".

Now, if this commentary on *Jyotiṣa-ratna-mālā* is written by ŚRIPATI himself, it can claim to be one of the earliest works of Marathi literature, for, as things stand, early Marathi literature is represented by *Jñāneśvarī* of *Jñānadeva* and *Viveka Sindhu* of MUKUNDARĀJA in Maharashtra and *Līḷācaritra* of MHĀIMBHAṬṬA in Vidarbha none of which is dated prior to Śaka 1190. That this commentary is written by ŚRIPATI himself can be accepted from the two explicit remarks he has made in the first two passages of the commentary, as also from the fact that ŚRĪPATI's mother-tongue was Marathi. From his *Dhruvamānasa Karaṇa* we know that ŚRĪPATI's place of residence was Rohiṇikhaṇḍa which is identified with Rohiṇakheḍa situated in Malkapur Taluka of Buldhana district in Vidarbha, an area of the Marathi language.

RAJWADE's discovery of the first few folios of the Ms. of *JRM* with Marathi commentary was undoubtedly a very rare find and the most pleasant accident. Since then only one Ms. of the complete Marathi commentary with original Sanskrit text has been found recently.[3] Until complete text of the Marathi commentary comes to light RAJWADE's Text of ŚRĪPATI's commentary on *JRM*[4]

1. *Gaṇaka-taraṅgiṇī,* p. 30.
2. *COJ.* vol. I, pp. 286-99.
3. The language of this Ms. is being studied by me.
4. *QBISM* 1914 A.D., pp. 81-117.

is the only specimen of the oldest extant Marathi literature. RAJWADE's remarks in the introductory portion of his paper and his use of brackets to supply some missing letters in a few places lead one to believe that this printed text is a faithful reproduction of its original in Ms. but unfortunately it is no so.

RAJWADE's printed text suffers from defects such as: omission of two complete lines, mistakes due to wrong reading, additions and omission of anusvār, daṇḍas and hyphens, inaccurate proof-reading etc. Instead of copying the text himself for the press RAJWADE seems to have entrusted that work to some other person. Be that as it may, for a student of language all these things mean much and with a view to give a correct picture of the Ms. with high regard for RAJWADE's scholarship, it is proposed to record here variations of readings in the printed text from the text in the Ms. of which it is a reproductions.

The manuscript in question is preserved in Rajwade Samsodhana Mandir in the section of Jyotisa bearing 21 as its accession number. It has 37 folios each of the size 8·5″x4″ with 9 to 11 lines on a page and 15 to 20 letters in a line. A margin of 1½″ is left with verticle lines on both the sides of a page. In his introduction RAJWADE has written about the date. The paper is very old and brittle, edges are worn out and corners rounded. There are tiny holes in the middle of some folios. All the folios are numbered and above some folio nos. a श्री is inscribed. On folio 1a one reads :

श्री रामचद्र प्रसन्न

दशसुनु समोचक्री दशचक्री च समोध्वजा दशाध्वजा समो वेस्य दशवेस्य समो नृपाः ।।

The text begins on folio 1b.

VARIATION OF READINGS IN THE PRINTED TEXT FROM THE TEXT OF ITS MS.

Lines of Sk. Stzs. are shown by a, b, c and d after Stz. No. If a Sk. Stz. bears no number it is indicated by a O. T after the Stz. No. means that it is Marathi Ṭikā on the verse. Figure after T marks the number of line in that passage. In case there is a Table the figure is indicative of a vertical column.

QBISM Page	Stz.	Line		Ms. Fol.	Line		Remarks
84	—	1	गणेशाय	1b	1	°ये	
84	—	2	माहालक्ष्म्यै		1	°क्ष्मै	
84	1a		नितांत		2	°त्तं	
	1c		विश्वजन्मात्ययाना		3	°जं°	
	1d		काळमीशं		4	काळमिशं	
	1T	4	ज्ञाने		8	°नें	
	,,		जालि उत्पत्ति	,,		जालिः उत्पत्ति	

QBISM Page	Stz.	Line		Ms. Fol.	Line		Remarks
	· 1T ·	5	काल		· 9	°लु	
		· 7	संसारु	2a	· 2	संसांरु	
		· 8	समर्थु		11	°मु°	
		· 9	ईश्वररूपा		· 4	°रुपा	
	· 2a		°प्रणीतं		· 6	°णीं°	
	· 2T ·	1	केलि		· 8–9	केंलि	Corrected in f.n. 4.
	,,		अलिक		· 9	अणिक	No compound has any hyphen between its members in the Ms.
85	· 2T ·	2	मिं	2b	· 2	मीं	
		· 4	तेयांचिया		· 3	तें°	
	· 3a		°कृतिघ्नः		· 5	°त्ति°	
	· 3c		°वस्विदुधृतः		· 6	°हृतः	
	· 3T ·	1	ठाइँ		· 7	ठाइ	
		· 3	पाठि		· 9	पाठि	
	,,		येणे	,,		येणें	f.n. 19 says that अनुनासिक is wanting
	· 4b		युवाप्योन्यः	3a	· 4	°प्यों°	
85	· 5b		तारणाप्य	3a	· 6	त्ता°	
86	· 10b		रक्ताक्षीसंज्ञक	3b	· 6	°स°	
	· 11d		गणनक्रमेण	3b · 9 / 4a · 1		गणनाक्रमेणे	
	· 11T ·	2	पूर्वाचार्यें	4a	· 2	°र्यं	
		· 3	प्रभवा		· 3	प्रवावा	
	· 12c		निषिलजन		· 8	निषिळ°	
	· 12d		स		· 9	सं	
	,,		जायते	,,		जायजे	
87	· upper cl · 2		संवत्सर	4b		सवत्सर	Tabulation is the same as in the Ms.
	,,		परिवत्सर			परिवत्स	
	,,		इदावत्सर			°वत्स	
			अनुद्वत्सर			°वत्स	
		· 3	विष्णू			विष्णु	
		· 5	श्रीमुख			श्रीमुष	
		· 7	पार्थिव			पार्थिव	
	,,		व्यय			व्यव्य	
	,,		ब्रह्मवंशिक			ब्रह्मविश	ब्रह्मवंशी is marginal.
		· 9	अहिर्बुध्न्य			अहिबुध्न्य	
	lower cl ·	2	इद्वत्सर			इद्वंत्सर	
		· 3	विलंब			विळब	

QBISM Page	Stz.	Line		Ms. Fol.	Line		Remarks
		5	प्लवंग			प्लवग	
		7	सीद्धार्थी			सीद्धार्थि	
		8	क्षय			क्षय:	
88	13d		रमेण	5a	2	क्रमेण	
	13T	3	सांधैन		6	साधैन	
	14b		ज्वलनौ		7	ज्वळनौ	
	15b		तस्मादिन्विदित	5b	3	तस्मादिदान्विदित	
89	16T	2	कांति	6a	5	कांती	This line is in margin for want of space.
	cl.	6	ग्री			ग्रि	last 2 horizontal lines dividing शिशिर etc. are superfluous in print.
	17b		तदामथ		9	तदामरं	
	17c		मन्यद्‌तु		10	मंन्यदृतु	
	17T	4	जाणावे	6b	4	जाणावें	f.n. 49 says that अनुनासिक is missing.
90	18T	3	कार्यें	6b	9	कार्यें	
	,,		तेतुकी	,,		तेंतुकी	
		4	काय	7a	1	कार्ये	
	19T	4	देइजे		7	देईजे	
		5	भोगी		8	भोगि	
	21d		कर्मणि	7b	3	कंर्मणि	
91	cl.	2	इंद्राग्नि			इद्राग्नि	
	,,	3	इंद्रु			इद्रु	
	1d		इत्यपि	8a	3	ईत्यपि	Chapter II begins.
	1T	2	कातिकु		6	कात्तिकु	
92	3c		दुर्गान्तको	8b	4	दुर्गात्तको	
	3d		शर्व	,,		सर्व	
	3T	1	स्वामीकातिकु		6	स्वामिकात्तिकु	
		3	आधिपत्य		8	आधिपत्त्य	
	4c		स्तु	9a	2	स्यु	
	4T	1	पूर्णा		3	पुर्णा	
		2	नंदा २/७/		4	नदा	
		5	मग उत्तम		7	उत्तमा	
	5a		तिथिश्च		9	तिथिस्तु	
	5d		मुनींद्रै नवमि	9b	2–3	मुनीद्रैर्नवमि	
	5T	1	वर्जुनु तिथि			वर्जुनु राम तिथि	
		5	वरिष्टा		6	वरिष्ठा	
93	7½a		दशमी	10a	3	दशमि	
	8T	1	पाडव्या		8	पाडिव्या	
	cl.	2	त	cl.	2	तु	

QBISM Page:	Stz.:	Line		Ms. Fol.:	Line		Remarks
below Table ·		1	संक्राति	below Table ·	1	सक्राति	
94	· 0a ·		नष्टेंदु	10b ·	5	नष्टेदु	
	,,		प्रतिपत् स	,,		प्रतिपत्स	
	· 9T ·	1	तैळाभ्यंगु	11a ·	3	तैलाभ्यंगु	
	,,		अर्थनाशु	·	4	अर्थु°	
	·	3	होये	·	5	होए	
	·	4	मनुष्ये	·	7	मनुष्ये	
94	· 10b		चतुर्दशिषु	11a ·	8	चतुर्द्दशिपु	
95	· 10T ·	2	करावें	11b ·	1	करवें	
	· 11a		नाद्यादूर्ध्वगति	·	4	°दूर्ध्द°	
	· 11b		कपाळांत्राणि	·	5	कपाळात्राणि	
	,,		चर्मतिळानि	,,		°तिळनि	
	· 12T ·	3	कुहु	12a ·	4	कूहु	
	· 13T ·	2	शुक्रा	12b ·	1	शुक्र	
	·	3	कार्तिकशुक्र	,,		कार्त्तिक°	
	·	4	वितल्पा		2	वित्तल्पा	
96	· 13T ·	7	तितुल पा	·	6	तितुल या	
	· 14a		शुक्ल नममी	·	7	°नवमी	
	· 15b		नभस्येऽप्याषाढी	13a ·	4	नभस्येप्या°	
	· 15T ·	2	भाद्रपद कृष्णाष्टमी	·	7	कृष्णांष्टमी	
	· 16b		इमा	·	9	ईमा	
	· 17a		वळा	13b ·	5	वळा	
	· 17b		लक्ष्मीवती	,,		°वति	
	· 17c		तिथि रुग्रकमा	·	7	तिथिरुग्रकर्मा	˚ type must have flown off while printing.
97	· 18T ·	3	धर्मिणी	14a ·	3	धर्मिणि	
	· 19T ·	1	कार्यें	·	9	कार्ये	
98	· 20T ·	2	संग्रामू	14b ·	9	सग्रामु	
	·	3	जिवादि	·	1°	जियादि	
	,,		माद्यकम	,,		°कर्म	˚ type flown off.
	· 21T ·	4	मागल्यकार्यें	15a ·	9	°कार्ये	
	,,		करावें	,,		कारावें	
	· 23T ·	3	माहापुण्यंतिथि	15b ·	8	°पुण्य°	Oversight in proof correction.
99	· 24T ·	2	अवमुदिनु/हें दोह्नि	16a ·	4	दिनु/तिथि तीचें अवसान पावें तो त्रिदिनु/हें	Omission of a sentence in copying.
	· 25b		स्थिति	16a ·	6	स्तिथि	
	,,		मुहूर्तत्रयवाहिनी	·	7	मूहुर्त्त° °नि	

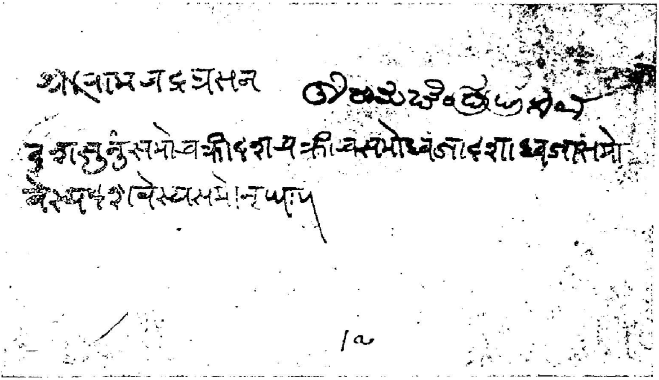
QBISM Page:	Stz.:	Line		Ms. Fol.:	Line		Remarks
	· 26b		सकला	16b ·	5	कपिला	कपिला is in the original hand. सकला is marginal correction. Design at the end of this chapter is the same as that which appears on p. 107 in print.
99	· 1a		केंदु	16b ·	8	केद्रं	Chapter III bengis.
	· 1T ·	2	मंगळाचा	17a ·	3	मगळाचा	
	,,		कात्तिकु	·	4	कातिकु	
	·	3	चंद्रासि॥उदक	·	6	चंद्रासि उदक	
	·	5	भूमि	·	7	मूमि	
		,,	इंद्रु		,,	ईद्रु	
	·	6	इंद्राणि		,,	ईद्राणि	
	·	7	तेयाचा	·	8	तेयाचां	
100	· 1a		प्रत्यधिशोशो	·	9	प्रत्यधिशो	oversight in proof correction.
	,,		मुजंगमाः	·	10	भुजंगमाः	,,
	· 1b		श्वित्रगुप्तः		,,	श्चित्रगुप्तः	,,
	· 2T ·	2	कार्ये	17b ·	4	कार्ये	
	· 3d		पुण्यांवरारंभण	·	10	पुष्पांवरारंभण	may be a variation of reading the text
	· 3T ·	4	रसाळ/उल्लपि/	18a ·	4	रसाळ॥उल्लपि॥	
	,,		शृंगीण		,,	शृगीण	
	·	5	पुण्ये	·	5	पुष्पे	,,
101	· 4T ·	1	चोरि/अग्नि/	·	9	चोरि/विष/अग्नि/	
	· 6b		मांगल्य	18b ·	9	मागल्य	
	· 6d		मंत्रिणोन्हि	·	11	मंत्रिणेन्हि	
	· 6T ·	1	शांतिकें	19a ·	1	शांतिके	
	·	3	भेषज्य	·	3	भेषजा	
102	· 7T ·	2	पद्मरागादि	·	8	°रागादि	
	·	5	सिद्धिते	19b ·	1	सिद्धितें	
	· 8b		सवार्द्यं	·	2	सवात्द्यं	it is only an orthographic variation.
	· 8T ·	3	ग्रहारंभप्रवेशु		,,	°प्रवेशू	
	,,		दीक्षा			दक्षा	
	· 9b		उग्रः			रुग्रः	
	· 9T ·	2	तीक्ष्ण	20a ·	2	तीक्ष्णः	
	·	3	सारिखें		,,	सारिषें	

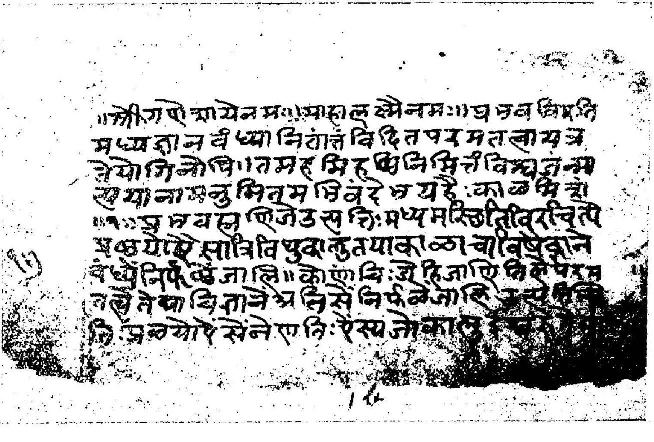
QBISM Page	Stz.	Line		Ms Fol.	Line		Remark
	10a		कांति वितरति		3	कांतिर्वितरति	
	,,		शशि भूंमि	,,		शशि भूमि°	
	10b		मृति लक्ष्म	,,		मृर्तिर्लक्ष्मिं	
	10c		दैत्यानां		4	दैत्यांनां	
	10d		सूर्यतनय:		6	सूर्यनय:	त is not bracketed to show that it is a corrected form.
103	10T	1	लक्ष्म/गुरु	20a	8	लक्ष्म//गुरु	
		2	शर्न। श्चरे		9	शनीश्चरं	
	11a		कांतिमति	20b	1	°मनि	
	11c		गुरौं		2	गुरो	
	11d		भर्वतीति		3	भंवतीति	Oversight in proof-reading.
	12d		अभ्यंग		5	रभ्यंग	
	,,		पर्वसूक्त:	,,		पर्वसु सुक्त:	
	12a		मार्त्तंड सूनु:		9	मार्त्तंड सूनु	No. 12 is repeated for this stz.
	12b		पंचमासान्		10	°मासात्	
	12c		सप्तेवेंदु	21a	1	°वेदु	
	12d		गंगप्रभृति°	,,		गर्गः प्रभृति	
	,,		क्षुरकार्येष		2	°कार्येषु	ु type flown off of.
	12T	3	बुधवारि		5	°वारि	
		5	शुक्रे		6	शुक्रें	
104	13T	1	हस्पति	21b	2	बृहस्पति	बृ Type flown off.
		3	मध्यम		4	मध्यमु	
	14a-b		द्वितियाद् आरभ्य		6	द्वितियादारभ्य	
	14T	1	मंगळकार्यासि		8	मंगकार्यासि	ळ is not bracketed.
		4	शनि ६ चंद्र	22a	2	शनि ६// चंद्र	
		5	वर्जावि//		3	वर्जावि//छं//	
	15T	2	बुधवारि		7	°वारि	
105	15T	7	जाणावे	22b	2	जाणावें	
		8	एणें क्रमें	,,		एणें क्रमे	
	16a		मुनयो		3	मूनयो	
	17a		वियागो	23a	1	वियोगो	` Type flown off.
	17T	1	इयाचा योगु		4	इयाचा म योगु	f.n. ought to have been given for this.
			मेळवणें//			ळवणें	
106	18T	4	ते	23b	5	तें	
	19b		सर्वकर्मसू		7	°कंर्मसू	
	19T	2	रवि मंगळ शनि/		10	रवि/मंगळ/शनि/	
		4	पवति	24a	1	पवति:	

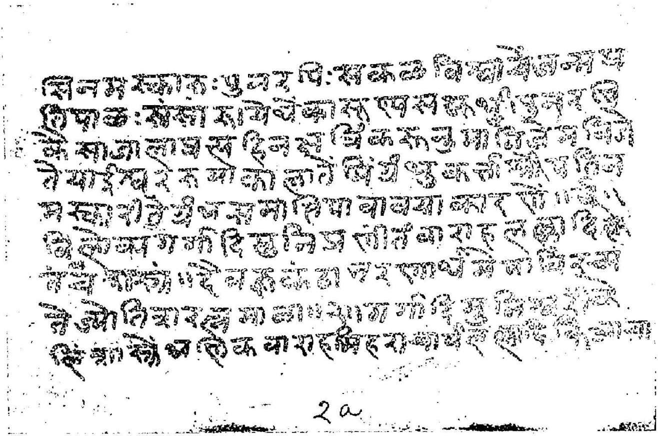
QBISM Page :	Stz. :	Line		Ms Fol. :	Line		Remark
	· 20b		कौसुंभ	·	2	कौंसुंभ	
	· 20c		भूषणेषु	·	3	भूशणेषु	
106	· 21a		°मिदी	24a ·	6	°मिदो	
	· 21d		नवांबर	·	8	°नवाबर	
	· 21T ·	2	होएति	24b ·	1	होए/ति	Vertical stroke is out of place.
	,,		फाटेति	,,		फाटोति	
	·	3	सांघे	·	2	साघे	
	·	4	गुरु	,,		उरु	
	,,		शुक्रे	·	3	शुत्रे	
107	· 22T ·	5	भौम/	25a ·	1	भौम//	
	· 23a		किंचित्कर्म	·	2	किंचित्कर्म	
	,,		प्रकीर्तितं			प्रकीर्त्तितं	
	· 23b		तत्तस्य °होरांयां	,,		ततस्य° होरायां	
	,,		विधीयते	·	3	वीधियते	
	· 1a		चायुष्यमानू	·	8	चायुष्यमान्	Chapter IV begins
	· 2a		धृवनामानो	25b ·	1	ध्रुव°	
	,,		भवंत्यथान्ये	,,		भवत्यथांन्ये	
	· 3a		वरियान् परिघ :	·	3	वरियात्परिघ:	
	· 3T ·	1	प्रीति	·	5	प्रीती	
108	· 3T ·	7	१७	26a ·	2	२७	
	· 4b		षछु	·	3	षलु	
	· 4T ·	1	टिंका	·	5	टीका	
	·	3	पूर्वार्द्ध	·	7	पूर्वार्द्धर्द्ध	2nd र्द्ध is supefluous in Ms.
	· 5c		नाद्य:	·	9	नाडच:	
	· 5T ·	1	वज्रवाघातु	·	1°	जज्र	
	· 6d		मूर्द्धनि	26b ·	5	मूद्धनि	no f. n. given
	· 6T ·	2	मृगु//	·	7	मृगु	
	·	3	विष्कंभ	·	8	विष्कभ	
	· 7a-b		स्थापयेद् रेषा	27a ·	1	स्थापयेद्रेषा	
	· 7c		मूर्ध्नि	·	2	मूर्ध्दिन	
109	· 7T ·	2	षार्जूरिचक्र	·	4	षार्ज्जूरिचंक्र	
	· 7T ·	2	व्याघातादि	·	5	व्याघातदि	Correction not indicated in print.
	·	3	तयाचें	·	5-6	तेयाचें	
	· 8d		निर्देहत्या	27a-b ·	1	नि निर्देहत्या	1st नि superfluous in Ms.
	· 8T ·	2	अतिरौद्र	·	3	°दौद्र	
	·	3	न्यसावियासि//	,,		न्यसावियासि/	
	· colophone		ज्योतिश°	·	6	ज्योतिष°	

QBISM Page : Stz. : Line				Ms Fol. : Line			Remarks
110	· 3a		इंद्रो	28a ·	7	इद्रो	Chapter V begins.
	· 3b		श्रिःकिनाश	,,		श्रि किःनाश	
	· 3c		सर्ववायू	·	8	°वायु	
	· 3d		स्थिराणां	·	9	स्थिराणं	
	· 4a		ववाख्ये	28b ·	4	ववाष्ये	
	· 4T ·	9	१५७ वि पाहिजे......				This is a f.n. printed at a wrong place.
	· 5T ·	2	क्षेत्रें	29a ·	5	क्षेत्रे	
	·	4	हाटवध	·	6	हाटवट्या	
111	· 8b		बुद्धि विलय:	30a ·	3	°विळय:	
	· 8T ·	2	नाभि कळी	·	7	°कळि	
	·	3	पुढी	,,		पुछी	
	,,		भद्राशरिराचें	,,		°शरिरीचें	
112	· 11a		सर्वकिनाश°	31a ·	3	°किनाश	
	· 11d		मंगळेष्ठे	·	5	मगळे°	
	· 12d		किस्तुघ्नि°	31b ·	3	किस्तुघ्नि	
	· 13a		दैत्येंद्रे	·	4	दैत्येंद्रें	
113	· 13T ·	2	तेव्हळि	·	9	तेव्हळीं	
	·	3	तेथोनु	·	10	तेथैनु	
	·	4	पुंसा	32a ·	1	पुसा	
	· 1d		गोविंदो	32b ·	1–2	गोविदो	Chapter VI begins.
	· 1T ·	2	यमु	·	4	पनु	
	· 1T ·	6	हस्तूसी	·	8	हस्तुसी	
	· 1T ·	7	मित्र	·	9	मित्र //	
	· 1T ·	9	श्रवणासी	33a ·	3	श्रवणसी	
	· 2a		वृषकुर्मेषो	33a ·	7	°कुमेषो	
114	· 2T ·	5	ह्यांसी	33b ·	5	ह्यांसि	
	·	9	पूर्वभाद्रपदा	·	9	°भाद्रपादा	
	· 3a		गोव्याघ्रं	34a ·	1	ग्रो°	
	· 3b		सुमहत्तद्र°	·	2	सुमहतद्र°	
	· 3d		वर्ज्यं	·	4	वर्ज्यं	
	· 3T ·	1	घाडया	·	5	घोडेंया	
	·	3	वधुवरासि	·	7	°वारासि	
	·	5	लोकव्यवहारा	·	9	°व्यव्हारा	
	· 4b		ज्योतिर्विद्भि	·	10	ज्योतिविद्भि	
	,,		भानामिदं	34b ·	1	भानांमिदं	
	· 4T ·	1	कृतिका	34b ·	3-4	कृत्तिका	
	,,		विषाषा	·	4	विशाषा	
	·	2	यें वक्षत्रें	·	4-5	ये न नक्षत्रें	1st न is superfluous.
	·	5	काढाविया	·	7	कढाविया	

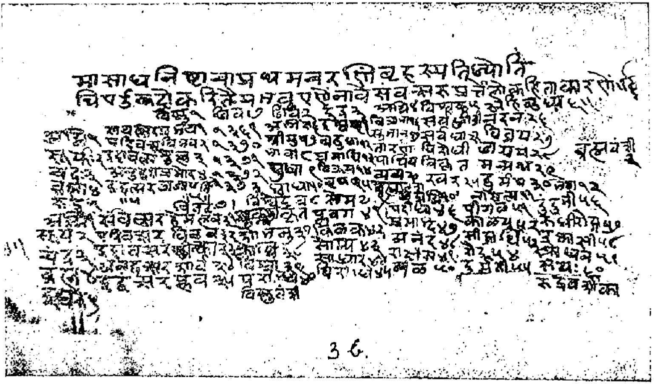
QBISM Page	Stz.	Line		Ms Fol.	Line		Remarks
	4T		गाडावि...जुंवि	,,		गाडा/वि...जुं/वि	vertical strokes are superfluous.
115	5a		°कराश्विनी°		9	कराश्वीनी	
	5b		°स्तिर्यङ्मुषा		10	°स्तिर्यङ्मुषा	
	5T	5	गाडे यंत्रे	35a	6	गाडे//यंत्रे	
		6	यंत्रे यात्रा		7	यंत्रे//यात्रा	
	6b		द्विष्टचान्य°	35b	1	द्विष्टचांन्य	
	6c		सत्तोरण—		2	सत्तोरणो	
	6d		पट्टाभिषेकादि		3	पट्टाभिषोकादि	
	6T	2	रोहिणी		4	रोहिणीं	
	,,		उर्ध्वमुषें		5	°मुषें	
	6T	3	इहि	,,		इहि	
	,,		ध्वजा/स्तंव/छत्रें	,,		ध्वजास्तंवछत्रें	
		5	उंची		6	उचि	
	,,		वृक्षवाटिका		7	वक्ष°	
	7a		रोहिणी		8	रोहिणीं	
	7b		कीर्त्तयंति	,,		कीर्त्तयंति	
116	8a		दैवता	36a	5	दैवतां	
	8T	2	कार्यें		8	कार्यें	
	9c		कळारतोषधं	36b	1	कळारतोषधं	
	9T	1	अभिजितु		3	अभिजिजितु	one जि in Ms. is superfluous.
	10T	4	कार्यें	37a	1	कार्यें	
117	11T	1	बंधनं		5	बधनं	
	12a		पुनर्वसु		7	पुर्वसु	न ought to have been put into backets.
	13T	1	कृत्तिका	37b	5	कृत्तिका	
	13T	2	करावि//ऐसे		7	करावि//जया नक्षत्राचें जें नाव तया समाने कार्यें करावि//ऐसे—	The whole line omitted through oversight.



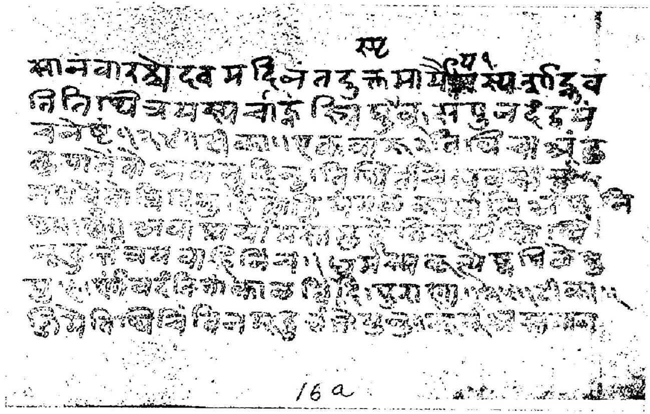




2a



3b.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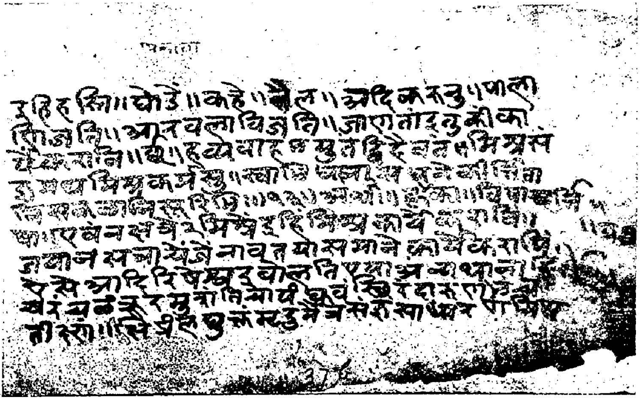

THE DHANURVEDA AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO LEXICOGRAPHY*

By

E. D. KULKARNI

According to the tradition the Indian weapons were classified into four categories : (1) *Mukta*, (2) *Amukta*, (3) *Muktāmukta* and (4) *Yantramukta* and these four classes of weapons constituted the four feet of *Dhanurveda*.

Compare—

yaḥ kiṁpuruṣasiṁhasya gandhamādanavāsinaḥ
śiṣyaḥ kṛtsnaṁ *dhanurvedaṁ catuṣpādam avāptavān*// Mbh. 5.155.3
atha dhanurvedo nirūpyate /
sa ca *pādacatuṣṭayātmako viśvāmitrapraṇītaḥ*.........
dhanuḥśabdaś cāparūḍho'pi caturdhā yuddhe pravartate /
muktam amuktaṁ muktāmuktaṁ yantramuktam iti—

—*Viśvāmitradhanurveda*.

tatra *catuṣṭayapādātmako dhanurvedaḥ*

—*Vasiṣṭhadhanurveda*.

But of this branch of literature, hardly any direct discussions seem to have been preserved in any of the extant works on Dhanurveda. The old manuals on Dhanurveda were concerned not only with archery but with the preparation and use of other weapons also like spears, javelins, clubs, discs etc. The extracts from *Auśanasa Dhanurveda* quoted in *Vīramitrodaya* supports this view. The works on *Nītiśāstra* and the Epics contain many sections bearing quite specially upon the science of war. In some Purāṇas like *Agnipurāṇa*, *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, we come across copious treatment of this subject and these references scattered in ancient literature indicate to the contents of the oldest Dhanurveda.

Of all the weapons the bow has a continuous history from Vedic times till the beginning of 19th century. Even after the introduction of aeroplanes and fire-arms, the use of the bow persisted throughout the 18th century. It was then considered a national weapon and the heroism was invariably associated with proficiency in handling this arm. At the time of Mahābhārata war, proficiency in archery was considered as a necessary qualification for princes and soldiers.

* A paper read at the 17th session of the All-India Conference held at Ahmedabad, 1953.

Naturally the code of rules regarding archery was composed and with the importance attached to the bow, the literature on it began to develop. The following works are supposed to have been composed on this science so far :—

(1) Dhanurveda of Vasiṣṭha (published).

(2) Dhanurveda of Viśvāmitra (Ms. belongs to Tirupati Library No. 7493b).

(3) Dhanurveda of Jāmadagnya.[1]

(4) Dhanurveda of Bharadvāja.[2]

(5) Dhanurveda of Auśanasa.[3]

(6) Dhanurveda of Vaiśampāyana.[4]

(7) Vīracintāmaṇī of Śārṅgadhara (printed in Śārṅgadharapaddhati).

(8) Dhanurveda attributed to Śiva (Ms. belongs to Darbar Library, Nepal, No. 557).

(9) Dhanurvedaprakaraṇa (Vīreśvarīyam) of Vikramāditya (Ms. belongs to Darbar Library, Nepal, No. 2(82)).

(10) Kodaṇḍamaṇḍana.[5] (Ms. belongs to Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society).

(11) Kodaṇḍaśāstra of Dilīpabhūbhṛt (Mss. belong to Deccan College Research Institute's collection; Darbar Library, Nepal and Oriental Library, Baroda).

(12) Dhanurvidyādīpikā.[6].

(13) Dhanurvidyārambhaprayoga.[7]

(14) Dhanurvedacintāmaṇi of Narasiṁha Bhaṭṭa.[8]

(15) Īśānasaṁhitā.[9]

(16) Kodaṇḍacaturbhuja.[9]

(17) Sārasaṁgraha.[9]

(18) Saṁgrāmavidhi. (Ms. belongs to Darbar Library, Nepal).

Besides these works there appear to have been two other earlier works *viz.* Dhanurveda of Śiva and Dhanurveda of Vyāsa. Śārṅgadhara admits that he has

1. Cf. *Śṛṇu bho, rājan Viśvāmitra, yāṁ sarahasyadhanurvidyāṁ bhagavān Sadāśivaḥ Paraśurāmāyovāca tām eva sarahasyāṁ vacmi te hitāya* / Vasiṣṭhadhanurveda.

2. Referred to by Weber in his *History of Indian Literature.*

3. The extracts of this appear in *Lakṣaṇaprakāśa* of Mitramiśra.

4. Referred to by Oppert in his '*Indian Weapons etc.*'

5. The writer of the present paper has secured two Mss. of *Kodaṇḍamaṇḍana* from Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal.

6. Quoted by Kamalākar and referred to by M. W. Dictionary.

7. Referred to by M. W. Dictionary.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Referred to in *Hariharacaturaṅga.*

extracted material for this section from the works of Śiva and Vyāsa.[10] Vasiṣṭha also refers to the work of Mahādeva or Sadāśiva, to which he is indebted.[11]

The Descriptive Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected paper Mss. belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal (p. 190) describes the Ms. of Dhanurveda by Sadāśiva as follows :—

Beginning :

Śrīgaṇeśagīrbhyāṁ namaḥ /
lambodaraṁ mahākāyaṁ lamboṣṭhaṁ gajakarṇakam /
vighnaghnaṁ pārvatīputraṁ namāmi gaṇanāyakam //
vinā śastradharaṁ[12] nānyo dhanurvedasya pāragaḥ[13]//
ataḥ[14] svapne niśi prāpte śivatattvavicāraṇam[15] //
kartavyam iti śeṣaḥ /
ataḥ sandehadolāyāṁ ropaṇīyaṁ ca mānasam /
granthe' smiṁś cāpacaturair vīracintāmaṇau kvacit //
yasyābhyāsaprasādena niṣpadyante dhanurdharāḥ /
jetāraḥ parasainyasya tasyābhyāso vidhīyatām //
eko'pi yatra nagare prasiddhaḥ syād dhanurdharaḥ /
tato yānty arayo dūraṁ mṛgāḥ siṁhagṛhād iva //
iti dhanurdharapraśaṁsā // ityādi /

End :

jīve[16] lakṣmīr mṛte svargaḥ kīrtiś ca dharaṇītale /
tasmād dhairyaṁ vidhātavyaṁ hantavyā paravāhinī //
iti yuddhavidhiḥ /

Colophon : iti śrīsadāśivaprokto dhanurvedaḥ samāptaḥ //

Viṣayaḥ: Dhanurdharapraśaṁsā. Dhanurdhāraṇavidhiḥ. Dhanuḥpramāṇam. Guṇalakṣaṇam. Phalalakṣaṇam. Pāyanavidhiḥ. Nārācanālikālakṣaṇam. Sthānāni. Guṇamuṣṭilakṣaṇam. Dhanurmuṣṭividhānam. Lakṣyalakṣaṇam. Śaralakṣaṇam. Dhanurvedābhyāse anadhyāyakālanirūpaṇam. Lakṣyasaṁcalanavidhiḥ. Śīghrasādhanam. Dūrapātitvam. Dṛḍhaprahāratā. Hīnagatiḥ.

10. Cf. *īśvaroktād dhanurvedād vyāsasyāpi subhāṣitāt, padāny ākṛṣya racito granthaḥ saṁkṣepato mayā //* Śārṅgadharapaddhati.

11. *athovāca mahādeo bhārgavāya ca dhīmate,*
tat te'haṁ saṁpravakṣyāmi yathātathyena saṁśṛṇu
Vasiṣṭhadhanurveda.

12. *Śārṅgadharadhanurveda* (= Ś) *śārṅgadharaṁ* for *śastradharaṁ*.

13. Ś—*dhanurvedārthatattvavit* for *dhanurvedasya pāragaḥ*.

14. Ś—*yataḥ* for *ataḥ*.

15. Ś—°*vicāraṇā* for °*vicāraṇam*.

16. Ś—*jite* for *jīve*.

Lakṣyacalanagatiḥ. Dhanurgatayaḥ. Bāṇabhaṅgaḥ. Varāṭikā. Bindukam. Golayugmam. Śabdabhedī. Śastravāraṇam. Saṁgrāmavidhiḥ. Akṣauhiṇilakṣaṇam. Vyūhalakṣaṇam. Yuddhavidhiḥ.

From this it appears that the contents and the verses in this work would exactly tally with those of Śārṅgadhara's Dhanurveda. It also refers to *Vīracintāmaṇi*. So under these circumstances we cannot conclude whether this work is the same as *Śivadhanurveda* which was one of the sources for Śārṅgadhara for the compilation of a section on Dhanurveda.

We have given below in a tabular form the occurrences or otherwise of the verses from Śārṅgadhara's Dhanurveda in the works of Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha and *Hariharacaturaṅga*.[17]

Śārṅgadhara	Viśvāmitra	Vasiṣṭha	Harihara°.
1	—	—	—
2	—	—	—
3	—	—	—
4	—	—	—
5	—	+	+
6	+	+	+
7	+	+	—
8	+	+	—
9	+	+	—
10	+	+	—
11	+	+	—
12	+	+	—
13	+	+	—
14	+	+	—
15	+	+	+
16	+	+	—
17	+	+	+
18	+	+	+
19	+	+	+
20	+	+	—
21	+	+	+
22	+	+	+
23ab	+	—	—
23cd	+	+	—
24	+	+	+

17. The sign + indicates that the verse is repeated.

Śārṅgadhara	Viśvāmitra	Vasiṣṭha	Harihara°.
25	+	+	+
26	+	+	—
27	+	+	—
28	—	+	28a +
29	—	+	+
30ab	—	+	—
30cd	+	+	—
31	+	+	+
32	+	—	—
33	+	—	33cd +
34	+	+	34cd +
35	+	+	—
36	+	+	36cd +
37	+	+	—
38	+	+	—
39	+	+	—
40	+	+	—
41	+	+	—
42	+	+	—
43	+	+	+
44	+	+	+
45	+	+	+
46	+	+	+
47	+	+	47abc +
48	+	+	48d +
49	+	+	+
50	+	+	+
51	+	+	51ab +
52	+	+	—
53	+	—	—
54	+	+	—
55	+	+	—
56	+	+	—
57	+	+	+
58ab	+	—	—
58cd	+	+	—
59	+	+	+
60	+	+	60acd +
61	+	+	61a +
62	+	—	—
63ab	+	+	—

Śārṅgadhara	Viśvāmitra	Vasiṣṭha	Harihara°.
63cd	—	+	—
64	—	+	—
65	—	Prose	—
66	+	Prose	+
67	+	+	—
68	+	+	+
69ab	+	+	+
69cd	—	+	—
70	—	—	—
71	—	—	+
72	+	+	+
73ab	+	+	—
73cd	—	+	—
74	—	+	—
75	+	+	—
76ab	+	+	+
76cd	—	+	+
77	—	+	+
78	+	+	+
79	+	+	—
80	+	+	—
81	+	+	—
82ab	—	+	—
82cd	+	+	—
83	+	+	+
84	+	+	+
85	+	+	+
86	+	+	+
87	+	+	—
88	+	+	—
89	+	+	—
90	+	+	—
91	+	+	91cd +
92	+	+	+
93ab	+	+	+
93cd	+	+	+
94ab	+	+	+
94cd	—	+	+
95	+	+	+
96	+	+	—
97	+	+	+

Śārṅgadhara	Viśvāmitra	Vasiṣṭha	Harihara°.
98ab	+	—	—
98cd	+	+	—
99	+	+	—
100	+	+	100cd +
101	+	+	+
102	+	+	—
103	+	+	+
104	+	+	+
105	+	+	—
106ab	+	—	—
106cd	+	+	—
107	+	+	+
108	+	+	108ab +
109	+	+	+
110	+	+	—
111	+	+	—
112	+	+	112cd +
113	+	+	113ab +
114	+	+	—
115	+	+	+
116	+	+	—
117	—	+	+
118	+	+	—
119ab	+	+	—
119cd	—	+	—
120ab	—	+	—
120cd	+	+	—
121	+	+	+
122	+	+	—
123	+	+	—
124	+	+	—
125	+	+	—
126	+	+	126ab +
127	+	+	—
128	+	+	—
129	+	+	—
130	+	+	—
131	+	+	—
132	+	+	—
133	+	+	—
134	+	+	—

Śārṅgadhara	Viśvāmitra	Vasiṣṭha	Harihara°.
135	+	+	—
136	+	+	—
137	+	+	—
138ab	+	+	+
138cd	139cd +	+	+
139ab	—	+	—
139cd	+	+	—
140	+	+	—
141ab	+	+	—
141cd	142cd +	+	—
142ab	—	+	—
142cd	+	+	—
143	+	+	—
144	+	+	—
145	+	+	—
146	+	+	—
147	+	+	—
148ab	+	+	—
148cd	—	+	—
149	+	+	—
150	+	+	—
151	+	+	+
152	+	+	—
153	+	+	—
154	—	+	—
155	+	+	+
156	+	+	+
157	+	+	+
158	+	+	+
159	+	+	+
160	+	+	160ab +
161	+	+	—
162	+	+	+
163	+	+	—
164	+	+	—
165	+	+	—
166	+	+	—
167	+	+	—
168	+	+	—
169	+	+	—
170	+	+	—

Śārṅgadhara	Viśvāmitra	Vasiṣṭha	Harihara°.
171	+	+	—
172	+	+	—
173	+	+	—
174	+	+	—
175	+	+	—
176	+	+	—
177	+	+	—
178	+	+	—
179	+	+	—
180	+	+	—
181	+	+	—
182	+	—	—
183	+	—	—
184	+	—	—
185	+	—	—
186	+	—	—
187	+	—	—
188	—	—	—
189	+	—	—
190	+	—	—
191	+	—	—
192	+	—	—
193	+	—	—
194	+	—	—
195	+	—	—
196	+	—	—
197	+	—	—
198	+	—	—
199 ab	—	—	—
199 cd	+	—	—
200	+	—	—
201	+	—	—
202	+	—	—
203	+	—	—
204	+	—	—
205	+	—	—
206	+	—	—
207a	—	—	—
207bcd	+	—	—
208	+	—	—
209	—	—	—

Śārṅgadhara	Viśvāmitra	Vasiṣṭha	Harihara°.
210	+	+	—
211	+	—	—
212	+	—	—
213	+	—	—
214	+	—	—
215	+	+	—
216	+	+	—
217	+	—	—
218	+	—	—
219	+	+	—
220	+	+	—
221	+	+	—
222	+	+	—
223	—	+	—
224 ab	—	—	—
224 cd	+	—	—
225	+	+	—
226	+	+	—
227	—	+	—

From the above table it is clearly seen that the text of Viśvāmitra Dhanurveda shows closer affinity towards Śārṅgadhar Dhanurveda, and that all these works have drawn upon one common source to a great extent. Vasiṣṭhadhanurveda contains many passages which are not found either in Śārṅgadhara or in Viśvāmitra. The comparative study of these texts has one definite advantage in that it will help the Editor in correcting the mistakes which are lingering either in the printed texts or in the Mss. The indebtedness of other works on archery to some older manual also can be shown in the same manner.

From lexicographical point of view the works on archery are a very valuable source, as they have much to contribute to lexicography. They are replete with technical terms with their definitions and explanations and many of them are not recorded in any of the published Dictionaries. We mention below a few of them.

***atyuccadūrapāta*[18] m. 74. hitting to a great height and to a great distance.

***adhaḥsaṁdhāna* n. 88. a kind of aiming or fixing an arrow, it is done while shooting to a distance (*adhaś ca dūrapātitvam*).

***adholakṣya* n. 99. a target at a low level.

18. ** before the vocable indicates that the vocable as well as the meaning is not recorded in Monier-Williams. * indicates that the meaning alone is new.

ardhacandraka n. 63. the semi-circular point of an arrow, crescent-shaped arrow-head.

***aṣṭaparvan*, mfn. 36. an arrow having eight parts or divisions, eight-knotted arrow.

***asamapāda* n. 79. a particular attitude in shooting (left foot advanced and the body bent slightly) (*asame ca puro vāmo hastamātre nataṁ vapuḥ*).

**ācārya* m. 6. *ācārya* is he who is conversant with seven kinds of fights (*ācāryaḥ saptayuddhaḥ syāt*).

ārāmukha n. 63. an arrow-head shaped like an awl.

ālīḍha n. 76. a particular attitude in shooting (the left foot advanced right knee bent and the feet placed two hastas apart. (*agrato vāmapādaṁ ca dakṣiṇaṁ jānu kuñcitam, ālīḍhaṁ tu prakartavyaṁ hastadvayasavistaram*).

***ūrdhvasaṁdhāna* n. 88. a particular kind of aiming, done while hitting strongly (*dṛḍhaspoṭaṁ prakurvīta ūrdhvasaṁdhānayogataḥ*).

***kaniṣṭhakalakṣya* n. 105. the inferior kind of target, located only twenty dhanus (80 cubits) apart from the archer (*viṁśatiś ca kaniṣṭhakam*).

**karṇika* n. 64. ear-shaped head of an arrow.

**kākatuṇḍa* n. 64. an arrow-head shaped like a crow's beak.

***kākatuṇḍī* f. 83. a particular position of the hand in shooting an arrow or in holding the string—(*aṅguṣṭhāgre ca tarjanyā mukhaṁ yatra niveśitam, kākatuṇḍī ca vijñeyā sūkṣmalakṣyeṣu yojitā*).

***kaiśika* m. 90. stretching of the bow-string up to the root of the hair (*kaiśikaḥ keśamūle ca*).

kṣurapra n. 63. a sharp-edged arrow-head, an arrow-head having a razor-like barb.

***gaṇaka* m. 9. *gaṇaka* is he who is conversant with one of the seven fights (*ekena gaṇako bhavet*).

***garuḍakrama* n. 81. a particular attitude in shooting, the left knee on the ground and the right one advanced (*savyaṁ jānu gataṁ bhūmau dakṣiṇaṁ ca sakuñcitam, agrato yatra dātavyaṁ taṁ vidyād garuḍakramam*).

gopuccha n. 63. an arrow-head, resembling a cow's tail.

***catuḥparvan* mfn. 36. an arrow having four parts or divisions, four-knotted arrow.

***calalakṣya* n. 93. a kind of target, the archer steady and the target moving (*calaṁ tu vedhayed yas tu ātmanā sthirasaṁsthitaḥ calalakṣyaṁ tu tat proktam ācāryeṇa sudhīmatā*).

***calācalalakṣya* n. 96. a particular kind of target, the archer moving and the target steady (*dhanvī tu calate yatra sthiralakṣye samāhitaḥ, calācalaṁ bhavet tatra aprameyam aninditam*).

***jyeṣṭhalakṣya* n. 105. the best kind of target, placed at a distance of sixty dhanus (280 cubits) from the archer (*ṣaṣṭhidhanvantare lakṣyaṁ jyeṣṭhalakṣyaṁ prakīrtitam*).

triparvan mfn. 35. an arrow consisting of three parts or divisions, three-knotted arrow.

***dardurakrama* n. 80. a particular attitude in shooting, placing both the knees on the ground by contracting the thighs (*ākuñcitorū dvau yatra jānubhyāṁ dharaṇiṁ gatau, dardurakramam ity āhuḥ sthānakaṁ dṛḍhabhedane*).

dūrapātana n. 129. the act of shooting to a distance.

***dṛḍhasphoṭa* m. 89. hitting strongly.

***dvayacalalakṣya* n. 97. a kind of target, both archer and target moving (*ubhāv eva calau yatra lakṣyaṁ cāpi dhanurdharaḥ, tad vijñeyaṁ dvayacalaṁ śrameṇaiva hi sādhyate*).

dvibhallaka n. 93. a kind of arrow-point.

dhanu (or *dhanus* n.) m. 34. a measure of length = four *hastas* (*catur hastaṁ dhanuḥ smṛtam*).

***napuṁsakaśara* m. 60. a kind of arrow, which is of the same thickness all over (*samaṁ napuṁaskaṁ jñeyam*).

***navaparvan* mfn. 35. an arrow having nine parts or divisions, nine-knotted arrow.

***nābhivedhin* m. 109. piercing or hitting the central part.

***nārīśara* m. 60. a kind of arrow, whose front part is thick or large (*agre sthūlo bhaven nārī*).

***pakṣaccheda* m. 58. a piece of feather.

pañcaparvan mfn. 35. five-knotted arrow.

***patākā* f. 83. a particular position of the hand in shooting an arrow or in holding the string (*dīrghā tu tarjanī yatra āśritāṅguṣṭhamūlakam. patākā sā ca vijñeyā nalikā dūramokṣaṇe*).

**padmāsana* n. 82. a particular attitude in shooting.

***puṁmārgaṇa* m. 130. a kind of arrow, whose hinder part is thick or large (*paścāt sthūlo bhavet pumān*).

***pucchamukha* mfn. 155. an arrow having tail-like head.

***puṣpavedha* m. 22. hitting a mark in the form of a flower.

pratyālīḍha n. 77. a particular attitude in shooting (the right foot advanced and the left drawn back (*pratyālīḍhaṁ tu kartavyaṁ savyaṁ caivānukuñcitam, dakṣiṇaṁ ca puras tadvad dūrapāte viśiṣyate*).

***phalapāyana* n. 68. the act of sharpening an arrow-point.

***bharata* m. 90. stretching of the bow-string up to the neck (*grīvāyāṁ bharato bhavet*).

bhalla n. 63. an arrow-head of a particular shape.

**bhārgava* m. 9. *bhārgava* is he who is conversant with four kinds of fights (*catur-yuddhas tu bhārgavaḥ*).

**bhramarī* f. 131. a kind of movement of an arrow.

***matsyapucchā* f. 133. a particular movement of an arrow.

***madhyamalakṣya* n. 105. a medium kind of target, placed at a distance of forty dhanus (160 cubits) from the archer (*catvāriṁśan madhyamaṁ ca*).

**muṣṭi* f. 98. a position of the hand in shooting an arrow or in holding the string.

***mutsarī* f. 83. a particular position of the hand in shooting an arrow or in holding the string (*aṅguṣṭhanakhamūle tu tarjanyagraṁ susaṁsthitam, mutsarī sā ca vijñeyā citralakṣyasya vedhane*).

**yodha* m. 9. *yodha* is he who is conversant with two kinds of fights (*dvābhyāṁ caiva bhaved yodhaḥ*).

vajramuṣṭi f. 83. a particular position of the hand in shooting an arrow or in holding the string (*tarjanīmadhyamāmadhyam aṅguṣṭho viśate yadi, vajra-muṣṭis tu sā jñeyā sthūle nārācamokṣaṇe*).

***vatsakarṇa* m. 90. stretching of the string up to the ear (*śravaṇe vatsakarṇaś ca*).

vatsadanta n. 63. an arrow-point like a calf's tooth.

***viśākhasthānaka* n. 78. a particular attitude in shooting, placing the feet straight on the ground with a space of one hasta (*pādau suvistarau kāryau samau hastapramāṇataḥ, viśākhasthānakaṁ jñeyaṁ kūṭalakṣyasya vedhane*).

***śabdavedhitva* n. 158. the act of shooting or hitting an invisible target, the sound of which is only heard.

ṣaṭparvan mfn. 36. six-knotted arrow.

***saptaparvan* mfn. 35. seven-knotted arrow.

***samasaṁdhāna* n. 88. aiming at a stationary target (*same lakṣyaṁ suniścitam*).

***sāttvika* m. 90. stretching of the string up to the end of the ear (*śṛṅge ca sātt-vikaḥ*).

siṁhakarṇī f. 83. a particular position of the right hand in shooting an arrow or in holding the string.

***sūcīmukha* n. 63. a needle-shaped arrow-head.

**skandha* m. 91. stretching of the string up to the shoulders (*aṁsake skandhanāmā ca*).

sthānaka n. 80. a position, posture or attitude of the body in shooting.

***sthiralakṣya* n. 93. a kind of target, both the archer and the target being station-ary (*ātmānaṁ susthiraṁ kṛtvā lakṣyaṁ caiva sthiraṁ budhaḥ, vedhayet triprakā-raṁ tu sthiravedhī sa ucyate*).

TAMIL SPEECH-SOUNDS AS DESCRIBED BY TOLKĀPPIYAM AND NANNŪL

By

A. Chandra Sekhar

Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant Tamil grammar (c. 2nd century B.C.), and Naṉṉūl, the most important Middle Tamil grammar, (13th century), attempt to give a clear description of the speech-sounds of Tamil. A study of the statements by these two grammars reveals that, while Tamil has not undergone any violent changes in pronunciation in the course of the centuries, some of the speech-sounds were evaluated differently during the Old and Middle Tamil periods.[1]

Both the grammars first enumerate the primary speech-sounds (phonemes) and then proceed to describe how they are produced. The important secondary speech-sounds are also mentioned. The term used for vowels is *uyir* literally, " life ") and the term for consonants is *mey* or *uṭampu* (literally, " body ").

The vowels are:

Short vowels (*kurreluttu*) : *a, i, u, e, o*. These are pronounced with one *aḷapu* or *mātrā* each (TE, 3).

Long vowels (*neṭṭeluttu*) : *ā*, ī, *ū*, *ē*, *ai*, ō and *au*. These are pronounced with two *mātrās* each (TE, 4).

Secondary vowels (*cārpeluttukkal*) : i, u, ∴. These are pronounced with half a *mātra* each (TE, 12).

Consonants

(*a*) Voiceless plosives (valleluttu ; literally, " hard sounds : *k, c, ṭ, t, p* and *r*.

Voices plosives (melleluttu ; literally, soft sounds) : *ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n, m* and *ṉ*

Semi-vowels (*iṭaiyeluttu*) literally, medial sounds) *y, r, l, v, ḻ* and *ḷ*.

* The following abbreviations are used in this paper :—
TE = Tolkāppiam Eluttatikāram ;
N = Nannūl.

1. By *Old Tamil* period is meant here the earliest period in the history of the Tamil language known to us, which seems to begin about the fifth century B.C. and end about the fifth century A.C. By *Middle Tamil* is meant the period beginning with the fifth or sixth century A.C., and end about the fifteenth century.

I must record here my grateful thanks to Mr. S. Sundaresa Aiyar, Tamil Pandit, South Indian Education Society's School, Bombay, to Mr. S. Subrahmanya Iyer, Tamil Pandit, Madrasi School, New Delhi, and to Prof. Meenakshisundaram Pillai of the Presidency College, Madras, for the opportunity they gave me to discuss with them my interpretation of the Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl sūtras.

Mode of production of the speech-sounds

Tolkāppiyam says that " speech-sounds are produced when the air that starts from the navel goes through the chest, the throat and the head, and is modified by the action of the teeth, the lips, the tongue, the nose and the palate " (TE, 83).

unti mutalā muntuvaḻi tōṉri-t-
talaiyiṉum miṭarriṉum neñcinum nilaiip-
pallum italum nāvum mūkkum
aṇṇamum uḷppaṭa eṇmurai nilaiyāṉ
uruppurramaiya nerippaṭa nāṭi
ellā eḻuttum colluṅ kālaip-
pirappiṉ ākkam vēruvēr-iyala
tirappaṭa-t-teriyuṅ-kāṭci yāṉa

(TE, 83)

As P. S. S. Sastri rightly observes, this statement of Tolkāppiyam on the production of the Tamil speech-sounds closely follows the statement by *Pāṇinīya śikṣā* with reference to Sanskrit, namely,

aṣṭau sthānāni varṇānām
uraḥ kaṇṭham śirasthathā
jihvāmulañca dantaśca
nāsikoṣṭhau ca tālu ca

Naṉṉūl describes the production of speech-sounds in the following manner : " Speech-sounds are produced while, with the power of life, the audible sound-waves come out and become modified by the action of the chest, neck, head and nose combined with the action of lips, tongue, teeth and palate."

niraiyuyir muyarciyiṉ-uḷvaḻi turappa
eḻumaṇu-t-tiraḷuṅ-kaṇṭam-ucci
mūkkurr-ital nā-p-pall-aṇa-t-toḻiliṉ
vevvēr-eḻuttoliyāyvaral pirappē (N, 74)

It is noteworthy that while the Pāṇinīya śikṣā talks about the eight *sthānās*, the *Tolkāppiyam* mentions only three sthānas or positions where the sound waves undergo modifications by the action of the tongue, teeth, lips, nose and palate. *Naṉṉūl* seems to suggest four *sthānās*, namely, chest, neck, head and nose where the air undergoes modifications by the action of the lips, tongue, teeth and palate. The implied division of the speech-organs into two sets, one set being passive and the other active is indeed very interesting.

Vowels

Tolkāppiyam says that the twelve vowels are produced with the help of the throat ; the sound waves (coming from the throat) which produce the vowels do

not undergo any change.[2]

paṉṉīr-uyirum taṉṉilai tiriyā
miṭarru-p-piranta valiyin icaikkum (TE, 84)

a, ā :

Tolkāppiyam : " *a* and *ā* are produced by opening the mouth."

a ā āyiraṇṭaṅkāntiyalum (TE. 85)

Naṉṉūl says the same thing in the following sūtra :

muyarciyuḷ a ā -v- aṅkāpputaiya (N, 76)

Both the grammars describe *a* and *ā* as open sounds produced in the same manner. It is interesting to note that the modern Tamil *a* is usually pronounced as ʌ, which has strictly no long form, the lengthened form being *a* : In Old and Middle Tamil *a* seems to have been a more open sound[3].

i, ī, e, ē and *ai* :

i, ī, e, ē and *ai* are similarly produced by opening the mouth and by the sides of the back part of the tongue approaching the upper teeth (molars).[4]

i, ī, e, ē, ai-y-eṉa-v-icaikkum-
appāl-aintumavarrōr-aṉṉa
avaitām,
aṉpal mutalnā viḷimpuṟal uṭaiya. (TE, 86)

Naṉṉūl : *i, ī, e, ē, ai*—these are produced by opening the mouth, together with the contact of the sides of the back part of the tongue with the upper teeth.

i ī, e, ē, ai aṅkāppōṭ-
aṉpaṉ mutaṉā viḷimpuṟa varumē. (N, 77)

Both *Tolkāppiyam* and *Naṉṉūl*, thus, describe these as high, front vowels.

u, ū, o, ō :

Tolkāppiyam : *u, ū, o, ō* and *au* are produced by rounding the lips.

u, ū, o, ō, aū eṉa icaikkum
appāl aintum italkuvint-iyalum. (TE, 87)

2. Cf. L. Bloomfield, *Language*, p. 102 : " Vowels are modification of the voice-sound that involves no closure, friction, or contact of tongue or lips."

3. This is true of the other south Dravidian languages also. *Cf.* L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar. *A Brief Account of Malayāḷam Phonetics*, Calcutta University Phonetic Studies No. 1 (1925). p. 5.

4. P. S. Subrahmanya Sāstri translates *aṉpal mutalnā vilimpural uṭaiya* as " the tip of the tongue approaching the gums," which is obviously wrong. *mutalnā* means the back of the tongue. And there is no mention of the gums in the sūtra.

Naṉṉūl says the same thing in the following sūtra :

u, u, o, o, au-v-italkuvivē. (N, 78)

k, ṅ, c, ñ, ṭ, ṇ :

Tolkāppiyam : *k* and *ṅ* are produced by the contact of the back part of the tongue with the palate. *c* and *ñ* are produced by the contact of the middle of the of tongue with the palate. *ṭ* and *ṇ* are produced by the contact of the front part the tongue with the palate.

kakāra ṅakāra mutanā-v-aṇṇam ; *cakāra ñakāram-iṭainā-v-aṇṇam* ; *ṭakāra ṇakāra nuṉinā-v-aṇṇam.* (TE, 89, 90, 91)

Naṉṉūl says the same thing :

kaṅavu cañavum ṭaṇavu mutal-iṭai
nuṉinā-v-aṇṇa muṟamuṟai varumē (N, 79)

It is particularly noteworthy that *aṇṇam* (palate) is referred to in these *sūtras* only in a general way. No particular point of the *aṇṇam* is specified. So it is not right to conclude, as P. S. S. SASTRI does, that *ṭ* and *ṇ* were alveolar sounds during the days of *Tolkāppiyam*.[5] *nuṉinā* should not be taken to mean, as Sastri does, the tip of the tongue. It is clear from this and the two earlier *sūtras* that the grammarian divides the tongue into three broad division only, namely, back, middle and front. If the tip of the tongue were intended, *nānuṉi* would have been used as in TE sutra 94. The distinction between *nuṉinā* and *nānuṉi* is thus obvious.

t and *n* :

Tolkāppiyam : *t* and *n* are produced by the broadened tip of the tongue coming into close contact with the upper row of teeth in the vicinity of the gums.

aṇṇam naṇṇiya palmutal maruṅkiṉ
nānuṉi parantu meyyuṟa oṟṟa-t-
tām-iṉitu piṟakkum takāra nakāram (TE, 93)

Naṉṉūl : *t* and *n* are produced by the close contact of the under part of the tongue with the upper teeth.

aṇpal-l-aṭinā muṭiyuṟa-t-tana varum (N, 80)

5. As described by the Tamil grammars, *ṭ* and *ṇ* cannot be called cerebral or retroflexed sounds. If these speech-sounds of Tamil were similar to Sanskrit *mūrdhanya* (cerebral or retroflexed) sounds, we should expect a clear statement by the Tamil grammars to that effect, in view of the fact that they attempt to give a clear description of the mode of articulation of all the sounds. In the light of their description of *ṭ* and *ṇ*, it is necessary to reconsider the theory of the borrowal of the cerebral or retroflexed sounds from Dravidian into Indo-Aryan.

In spite of the apparent difference, there is no conflict between the descriptions of the two grammars regarding the production of the Tamil dentals, since the under part of the tongue is in contact with the upper teeth when the broadened tip of the tongue is pressed against the teeth. However, it is possible that the dentals at the time of *Tolkāppiyam* were slightly different.

It is noteworthy that *n* (represented by the symbol n̠) is a dental sound in Old and Middle Tamil, and not alveolar as in modern Tamil.

r̠ and n̠:

Tolkāppiyam : r̠ and n̠ are produced by the (close ?) contact of the front part of the tongue with the palate.

aṇari nuṉinā-v-aṉṉam-orra
ṟa.·.kāṉ ṉa.·.kāṉ-āy-iraṇṭum piṟakkum (TE, 94)

Naṉṉūl : r̠ and n̠ are produced by the close contact of the front of the tongue with the palate.

aṇṇa nuṉinā naṉiyuṟi-ṟ-ṟa ṉa varum (N, 86)

It is very significant that in both *Tolkāppiyam* and *Naṉṉūl* r̠ is described as being produced by the contact of the front part of the tongue with the palate as in the case of n̠. *Naṉṉūl* clearly says that the contact is very close and firm while the term *orr*- employed by *Tolkāppiyam* seems to suggest that the duration of the contact was shorter without any other difference in the nature of the contact. From these descriptions it is clear that the speech-sound was not the heavily trilled r̠ of today but was an alveolar plosive. The plosive nature of r̠ is also clear from the classification of the sound as *valleluttu* and from the statement that r̠ cannot end a word. It is therfore reasonable to conclude that a word like *āṟu* " river " was pronounced in Ancient and Middle Tamil as *āṯu*.

r and ḻ :

Tolkāppiyam : *r* and ḻ are produced by gently rubbing the front part of the tongue against the palate.

nuṉinā- aṇari aṇṇam varuṭa
rakāram lakāram āyiraṇṭum piṟakkum (TE, 95)

Naṉṉūl says the same thing in the following sutra :

aṇṇa nuṉinā varuṭa ra ḻa varum. (N, 88)

It is very interesting that for ḻ the front part of the tongue is described as rubbing the palate. The modern practice is to describe ḻ as a continuant with no contact anywhere. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar expresses the view that " one does not see what rubbing is involved in producing ḻ." But careful observation would

reveal that it is much more correct to describe *l* as having a gentle rubbing contact than to say that it is a contactless continuant. The fact that *ḍ* in some of the Dravidian languages such as Telugu and Baḍaga and *ḷ* in some others like Kannaḍa and Tuḷu correspond to Tamil *l* seems to bear out the accuracy of the statements of *Tolkāppiyam* and *Naṉṉūl* that *l* has a certain amount of rubbing contact.

l and *ḷ* :

Tolkāppiyam : As the sides of the tongue, swelling up, presses against the upper part of the upper teeth (that is, the upper gums), *l* is produced ; as the sides of the tongue, swelling up, (gently) rubs against the palate, *ḷ*, is produced.

nāviḷimpu vīṅki aṇpal mutalura
āvayiṉ aṇṇam orravum varuṭavum
lakāra ḷakāram āyiranṭum piṟakkum (TE, 96)

Naṉṉūl says the same thing in the following sūtra :

aṇpal mutalum aṇṇamum muraiyiṉ
nāviḷimpu vīṅki-y-orravum varuṭavum
lakāra ḷakāram-āy-iranṭum piṟakkum. (N, 84)

It is noteworthy how accurately the distinction between *l* and *ḷ* is brought about in these *sūtra*. The fact that *ḷ* and *l* have the same rubbing against the palate accounts for the substitution of *l* by *ḷ* in acertain Tamil dialects and the correspondence between Tamil *l* and Kannaḍa-Tulu *ḷ*.

p and *m* :

Tolkāppiyam : *p* and *m* are produced by the contact of the lips.

italiyaiutu piṟakkum pakāra makāram (TE, 97)

Naṉṉūl says the same thing in the following *sūtra* :

mīkīlitauralp-pa-m-ma-p-piṟakkum. (N, 81)

p and *m* are thus bilabial as in modern times.

v :

Tolkāppiyam : *v* is produced by the contact of the (upper) teeth with the (lower) lip.

pallitaliyaiya vakāram piṟakkum. (TE, 98)

Naṉṉūl says the same thing in the following *sūtra* :

mērpal-l-italuṟa mēviṭum vavvē. (N, 85)

Tolkāppiyam merely says that *v* is produced by the contact of the teeth with the lips, while *Naṉṉūl* clearly says that the upper teeth come in contact with the lower lip, as in Sanskrit and English *v*.

It is noteworthy that modern Tamil tends to pronounce *v* as *w* with lip rounding.

y :

Tolkāppiyam : *y* is produced when the sound waves issuing from the throat come in contact with the palate.

aṇṇan cērnta miṭarreḻu vaḷiyicai
kaṇṇurraṭaiya yakāram pirakkum. (TE, 99)

Naṉṉūl : *y* is produced by the contact of the back part of the tongue with the back palate.

aṭinā-v-aṭiyaṇam ura ya-t-tōṉrum. (N, 82)

y is clearly a palatal frictive according to both the grammars. Though their descriptions of the sound varies, there is no difference of opinion between the grammars regarding the nature of *y*, as U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR seems to suggest.[6]

Nasals

The six *melleḻuttus* have in them prominent nasal sound, though they are produced in the manner described above.

melleḻuttārum pirappiṉākkam
colliya paḷḷi nilaiyiṉa vāyiṉum
mūkkiṉ vaḷiyicai yāppurattōṉrum. (TE, 100)

While *Tolkāppiyam* explicitly refers to the nasal characteristics of the six *melleḻuttus*, *Naṉṉūl* does not say so.

The secondary speech-sounds :

Tolkāppiyam : the three secondary speech-sounds (i, ù, ∴) have no place of articulation of their own. They are produced in the same manner as those sounds n conjuction with which they are produced.

cārntu vari ṉallatu tamakkiyal pilaveṉa-t-
tērntuveḷip paṭutta ēṉai mūṉrum
tattam cārpir pirappoṭu civaṇi
otta kāṭciyir-rammiyalp-iyalum (TE, 101)

Naṉṉūl : There is no place of articulation for *āytam*. It is produced by opening the mouth. The other secondary speech-sounds (dependent sounds) also are produced according to the place of articulation of their preceding sounds.

āyta-k-kiṭantalai yaṅkā muyarci
cārpeḻutt-ēnavun-tammutal-aṉaiya. (N, 87)

6. See *Naṉṉūl Mūlamum Caṅkaranamaccivāyaruraiyum* edited by U. V. Swaminatha AIYAR fourth edition, p. 40, footnote 1.

These *sūtras* refer to the neutral character of the secondary speech-sounds ĭ, ŭ, and ∴. The Nannūl *sūtra* further suggests that the *āytam* is in the nature of an accent.

The concluding *sūtra* of the *Pirappiyal* (Mode of Production of Speech-sounds) of the *Eluttatikāram* (Phonology Section) of *Tolkāppiyam* reveals at once the deep insight of the author into the pocesses of speech-sound production and his indebtedness to the Sanskrit grammarians. It says: " Although I have clearly explained the production of all the speech-sounds, one must make due allowance for (individual) differences and turn to the Vedas of Brahmins (*i.e.* Sanskrit treatises) for further clarification."[7]

ellā eluttum veḷippaṭa-k-kiḷantu
colliya paḷḷi clutaru vaḷiyin
pirappoṭu viṭuvali uṟalcci vārat-
takattelu vaḷiyicai ariltapa nāṭi
aḷapir kōṭal antaṇar maṟaittē (TE. 102)

Sūtra 88 of *Nannūl*, which concludes the section of the grammar dealing with the production of speech-sounds, says: " Although it has been stated that several speech-sounds are produced in the same manner, the effort which is appropriate for the production of each speech-sound (*ulappu*), such as explosion, voicing, and nasalaisation (*eṭuttal, paṭuttal, nalital*),[8] brings about some differences among them."

eṭuttal paṭutta nalita lulappir
ṟiripun tattamir ciritula vākum.

7. Another way of interpreting this sūtra is as follows:—" Although I have described the production of all the speech-sounds, the differences that aise when the sounds are articulated should be understood properly as well as the duration of speech-sounds in accordance with the learned treatises of Brahmans."

P. S. S. Śāstri gives the following interpretation: " The nature of the origin of the air which starts from navel and the modifications which it undergoes before it comes out as an articulated sound and of its quantity therein is clearly discussed in the scriptures of Brahmans." (" Tolkāppiyam with English translations ", *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*, Vol. II, 1928).

8. Yālppāṇattu Nallūr Arumukanvalar in his edition of Nannūl seems to take *eṭuttal paṭuttal* and *nalital* to mean " high pitch," " low pitch," and " high and low pitch."

By the courtesy of the Illustrated
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THE HISTORIC IMPORTANCE OF THE BRONZE STATUE OF RESHEF DISCOVERED IN CYPRUS

By

R. G. Harshe

The historic importance of the discovery[1] of the bronze statue of "*Reshef*," belonging to the 12th century B.C. at Alasia near Enkomi in Cyprus, has not been realised by Indologists. It has a great bearing on our ancient past and if proper investigations are made, the Puranic history of India will have to be re-written in the light of the new discoveries.

M. Dikaios, who discovered this statue, calls it the statue of the god *Apollo—Nergal—Reshef*.[2] Apparently he is not quite sure of the divinity but since it has horns and the bull's head is the symbol of Apollo, he designates it as the oldest known statue of Apollo.[3] Personally he would accept the suggestion of the god being Nergal, the Babylonian god of War and Death.[4] About "*Reshef*" he has not written a single word by way of explanation. Dr. Claude F. A. Schaeffer, F.B.A., F.S.A., Director, French Centre of Scientific Research, Paris, has, however, supplied the explanation in his article on "The Dicsovery of the Ancient Capital of Cyprus" in "*The Illustrated London News* :"[5] "I believe this remarkable statue represents the Apollo of Cyprus, protector of the city, and that it can be dated to the twelfth century B.C. This god was still honoured in Cyprus in Greek times, as shown by the bilingual inscription found at Tamassas, mentioning "Apollon Alasiotes," translated in the Phoenician version as "*Reshef*." As our Ras Shamra discoveries disclosed, "*Reshef*" was indeed a horned god, symbol of fertility, as was Apollo himself, whose oriental origin the Greek tradition has not forgotten and which is more credible than that which tries to make Apollo a Nordic god. Thus the

1. "*The Oldest known Representation of Apollo : A Unique Second Millennium Bronze Statue of a Horned God Newly Discovered in Cyprus*"—By D. Dikaios, F.S.A., Curator of the Cyprus Museum. The Illustrated London News, August 27, 1949, pp. 316-317.

2. Inscription under Fig. 3, p. 316.

3. *Vide* the title of the article in footnote (1) above.

4. "It would be permissible to identify our statue with the god Nergal, whose name repeatedly occurs in the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence between the King of Alasia and the Pharoah. In one of the letters, when a calamity in the form of a pestilence is mentioned, the king of Alasia says, 'the hand of Nergal is on the land.' It would not be difficult, in my opinion, to imagine that the writer had in mind the gesture of the right-hand of our statue. It should be stressed here that some scholars consider this god Nergal of Alasia as a local god, and not as the Babylonian god of War and Death." But the kindly smile so well-expressed on the face of the statue does not indicate any idea of wrath resulting in havoc by pestilence. The hand is not the hand of the striker but that of one who blesses."

5. "*The Discovery of the Ancient Capital of Cyprus : Alasia, a town of the 2nd Millennium B.C., found at Enkomi, near Famagusta.*"—The Illustrated London News, August 20, 1949, pp. 278-280.

Enkomi statue, oldest known representation of Apollo, in a typical cypriot version with strong Oriental or more precisely, Syrian influence, is of paramount importance for the study of the later, archaic Greek art, in which this god became so popular."[6]

Much more than that, it has a tremendous significance from the Indian point of view and if it could be linked up with the Vedic, post-Vedic and the Puranic tradition, preserved in our ancient Sanskrit texts, it will open a new vista of which Assyriologists all over the world will have to take note. The word "*Reshef*' has made it possible to easily identify him with Ṛṣabhadeva, one of the most ancient kings of the Solar Race. The word "*Reshef*" is of Phoenician origin designating the "horned" god. Its Sanskrit equivalent, *ṛṣabha* or *vṛṣabha*,[7] means "a bull" and the statue of a crowned king, with the symbolic horns of the bull, undoubtedly establishes the identity of Ṛṣabhadeva of the Indian Vedic and Epic tradition which does not run counter to but confirms the tradition of the West as can be seen presently.

The antiquity of the bronze statue of "*Reshef*" in Cyprus, according to M. DIKAIOS, goes back to 1300-1200 B.C.[8] It was found at Alasia, the ancient capital of Cyprus whose antiquity can be traced to about 2000 to 1700 B.C. According to Dr. SCHAEFFER, Alasia was not only the capital of Cyprus but "as was usual at this time, the capital's name was gien to the whole country."[9] He further states that "Alasia is, according to M. G. DOSSIN, probably derived from the Sumerian word *a. la. as* for copper, which was the main product and source of prosperity of Cyprus." This is confirmed by the "lists of Asiatic countries under the Egyptian Empire."[10] superscribed in the temple of Amon at Karnak in the reign of Thutmose III (1490-1436) B.C.) in which "Alashiya" is included. It would therefore be permissible to push back the antiquity of 'Alasia' and with it that of "*Reshef*" at least prior to 1500 B.C. So far as the island of Cyprus is concerned, its antiquity can be traced to the hoary past. In the Kouyunjik Records, the name of Cyprus is given as Atnana (variant: Yatnana),[11] after the legendary king Atana or Etana of the Kish dynasty which followed the Flood.[12] This name of Cyprus could not be traced in any of the names recorded by CESNOLA[13] and it must belong to a

6. P. 278.

7. *Ṛṣabha* is a common name of the "bull" from the Ṛgveda onwards (R. V. VI. 16.47 etc.) for *Vṛṣabha*, see RV. I. 94,10, etc.

8. "The attempt to identify the bronze statue with the god Nergal, of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, which are of the 14th century B.C., would naturally imply that the statue dates from that period, and that it continued to be worshipped until the time of the level in which it was found by us, *i.e.* twelfth century B.C." P. 316.

9. P. 278.

10. '*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*'—edited by JAMES B. PRITCHARD, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., 1950 p. 242. In the light of the above, the word Cyprus in the parenthesis against ISY seems to be an error. By 1318, B.C., it cannot have a new name other than Alashiya.

11. *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*, Vol. V, p. 1982.

12. *Ancient Near-Eastern Texts*, p. 114.

13. "*Cyprus, Its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples*" by General LOUIS PALMA DI CESNOLA, 1877, p. 3.

high antiquity. Of the three cities mentioned in K. Collection, namely, Kartihadasti, Nuri and Tamiṣi (or Tamiṣu), which is also the name of the district,[14] only the last one is known for its rich mineral deposits.

But Cyprus is not the place of origin of "*Reshef.*" As the very name indicates it is of Phoenician origin.[15] From the scanty records available of "*Reshef*" in his native land of the Syrian tribes, namely the Canaanites (or Phoenicians) Amorites (or Eastern Canaanites) and the Arameans, who claimed him as their god, we find that he was a very popular god and was eventually adopted by the Egyptians of the New Empire.[16] It has been referred to in the correspondence regarding the Asiatic Campaigns of Amen-hotep II[17] (1447-1421 B.C.). Rashaph is the name of a city and a district,[18] in the country of Amurru (Syria), evidently named after the god which has been mentioned in the Mari tablets,[19] unearthed from the palace of Zimri-Lin (Circa 1730-1700 B.C.), the last king of Mari. But in the chronicles of Sargon I (Circa 2450 B.C.) we find mention of his conquest of Mari[20] and therefore the probable existence of "*Reshef*" can be pushed back to that early period. "The oldest Canaanite temples," according to Prof. HITTI,[21] "go back to the beginning of the third millenium and were located in Jericho and Megiddo." Thus, the earliest date that can be assigned to "*Reshef*" according to the Syrian tradition will be about 3000 B.C., and if he is to be regarded as a deified King of antiquity, as was usually the case, he must be consigned to a hoary past beyond any historical date.

Corresponding to this, Ṛṣabhadeva is regarded as the great grandson of Svāyaṁbhuva Manu, the son of Brahmā, the Creator (Self-born).[22] The geneology may be given as follows: 'Svāyaṁbhuva Manu + Śatarūpā = Priyavrata + Barhiṣmatī = Āgnīdhra + Pūrvaciti = Nābhī + Merudevī = Ṛṣabha.[23]

There is another tradition according to which Ṛṣabha is the son of Vaivasta Manu, the son of Vivasvān or the Sun.[24] According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa,[25]

14. *K. C.* Vol. V, pp. 2070, 2139 and 2199 respectively.

15. It is recorded that the Phoenicians had several ancient settlements in Cyprus and they were primarily responsible for its mining industry, especially copper, which was so well-known. The Cypriot population is largely composed of the Phoenician and the Greek elements.

16. "*History of Syria including Lebanon and Palestine*" by PHILIP K. HITTI; Macmillan, 1951, p. 77.

17. *Ancient Near-Eastern Texts*, p. 245. "His Majesty crossed the Orontes on dangerous waters like Rashap," p. 245.

18. *K .C.* Vol. V, p. 2162.

19. *History of Syria* p. 77. The date is mentioned on p. 68.

20. *Near-Eastern Texts*, pp. 266-268.

21. *History of Syria*, p. 120.

22. 'Svayaṁbhū.'

23. Vide *Bhāratavarṣīya Prācīna Caritra Kośa* by S. V. CHITRAV, pp. 645, 362, 47, 297 and 84.

24. *Ś. Br.*, i 1. 4.14.

25. VI. 18. 7.

Ṛṣabha is the son of Indra-Āditya[26] and as such he can very well be regarded as some form of Apollo. But, for all intents and purposes, it would be desirable to treat him as a historical personality rather than a divinity and apart from his divine connection mentioned above, with which every great king is generally invested, even during historical times,[27] it would be worthwhile to examine some of the Assyrian records[28] with a view to finding out some correspondences in the connected names. Although, in the course of time, these names are lost or forgotten, their memory is kept green by the towns, rivers, mountains, etc.. which are named after them, to perpetuate their memory, as these are generally the indestructible records of antiquity. But here also man has intefered too much and history tells us that every conquering invader, especially when he belongs to a different racial group or culture, had thought it safer to wipe out the memory of the past by renaming them. This is what has actually happened in the Asiatic region in the West, extending from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea, and added to our confusion. The Persians, the Greeks, the Romans and lastly the Arabs have indulged in this and it is very difficult to extricate real history from the scanty material that is available. By its very nature this investigation is bound to be hypothetical and would await further evidence from different sources. From the study of the material so far collected we are convinced of the main fact that the Indo-Aryans, whatever may be their original home, had lived for a sufficiently long time in Western Asia before they migrated to India and this can be proved from the legendary records and the archæological findings which can now be dated approximately.

Coming to historical times, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* regards Ṛṣabha as the son of the royal sage Viśvāmitra.[29] In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the White Yajurveda, Ṛṣabha is referred to as the king of Śviknas[30] who had performed an Aśvamedha (Horse Sacrifice) which is supposed to be the highest religious achievement of a Paramount King. In Northern Irak we find a village named Spikani in the Shilar valley, situated at an altitude of 6000 ft. on the middle slopes of a mountain of the same name, Kuḥ-Spikani. It is therefore highly probable that Ṛṣabha was the king of the mountain tribes of Kurdistan[31] who had enjoyed this unique honour in the hoary past. This need not be regarded as an isolated instance of a Vedic identification but in this very region we find another name which can also be connected with Vedic tradition, namely, the town of Penjwin from which "the Shilar valley lies almost immediately to the north." The celebrated king Sudās

26. According to Purāṇic tradition there are twelve Ādityas representing the 12 months of the year and Indra-Āditya represents the month of Āśvina-*Bh. Pr. C. Kośa*, p. 50.

27. Louis XIV of France : "Roi soleil."

28. Mostly confined to the records in the Kouyunjik collection in the British Museum.

29. vii. 17. But he seems to have an appellation of Yajñatura.

30. xiii. 5. 4.15.

31. "*An Ancient Urn and Smelting Hearth in Kurdistan*"—By W. Rees WILLIAMS, Iraq Govt. Geologist, *Sumer* 1951, Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 46-48.

is called Paijavana,[32] Pijawana being erroneously (?) regarded as his father's name.[33] One would also be tempted to connect the Silāhāras or Shelars of the Western coast of India, whose origin is unknown, with the original inhabitants of the Shilar valley.

These apparent verbal similarities cannot be easily brushed aside on the plea that they are far-fetched and that they could be interpreted differently, owing to difference in languages. If once it is taken for granted, and there is overwhelming evidence to prove it, that the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans had inhabited this region for a long time, the remnants of their name-sakes which have withstood all kinds of changes, should be interpreted in their original significance in Sanskrit and that any subsequent change in meanings must be attributed to the foreign invaders who were ignorant of the tradition and had therefore naturally misinterpreted them in their own way through the medium of their own language.[34] If this fact is borne in mind the identifications that follow will not be regarded as improbable or absurd. On the contrary, it will require further evidence to disprove their identity. In fact, the word and more especially, the bronze statue of Ṛṣabha has served as a key to unlock the entire wealth of the Vedic and Purāṇic material which can be properly correlated with the excavated data from the Western Asiatic region.

We have now to consider Ṛṣabha-deva in his traditional setting. He is regarded as the son of Nābhi and Merudevī as we have seen above. There are several Vedic and post-Vedic names like Nabha,[35] Nabhaḥ-prabhedana,[36] Nabhaga,[37] Nabhas,[38] Nabhasya,[39] Nabhasvat,[40] Nabhasvatī,[41] Nabhāka,[42] Nabhāga[43]

32. *RV.* vii. 18. 22, 23 ; 25 ; *Ait. Br.* viii. 21.

33. Vide *Nirkula* II. 24. In the light of this new information Sudās will have to be regarded as a native of Pijawana—city or country and Kāśī will have to be sought for in this region.

It may be that the original Kaśśi (or Kaśśu)—the country and its people (K. C., p. 2070) had been mistaken for the present city of Kāśī or Banaras in the United Provinces in India in later times, closely associated with Divodāsa who is regarded as the father or grandfather of Sudās. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 363.

34. Ṛṣabha, variously written as Rashap, Rashapha, Reshpu, Raṣapa, Raṣappa, Rezeph, Reshef, Reshuf, Ruṣafah, etc., can be fittingly identified first with Ṛṣabha, the bull, because of the horns and then symbolically with the Sun, according to the Phoenician and the Indian tradition. Prof. Hitti interprets the word as "glowing coal" (p. 319) and "flame "(p. 120)—" may have had some connection with fire " (p. 77). This was quite unnecessary but in the present case even in this new sense it would be connected with the Vedic Fire God who is identified with Ṛṣabha 'Tridhābaddho vṛṣabho roravīti," etc., *RV.* vi. 58.3.

35. Variously regarded as the son of Svārociṣa Manu, Uttama Manu, Cākṣuṣa Manu, Vaivasvata Manu ; a Gotrakāra (Chief of a clan) in the Kāśyapa Kula (tribe), and a Mantrakāra (composer of Vedic hymns) from the Bhārgavakula—Bh. P. C. K. p. 286.

36. Composer of Vedic hymns *RV.* 10.112.

37. Son of Vaivasvata Manu. His son is Nābhāg (*Bh.* viii. 13.2).

38. Perhaps the same as Nabha. According to *Padma Purāṇa* (*Sr.* 8) he is the son of Nala. A son of Uttama Manu—A sage in Brahmasāvarṇi Manvantara.

39. The son of Svārociṣa or Uttama Manu.

40. Son of Mura-daitya, killed by Krishṇa (*Bh.* 10.59. 12).

41. The wife of king Vijitāśva. Her son was Havirdhāna. (*Bh.* 10.24.5).

42. About him a traditional legend is mentioned in the Ait. Br. (VI. 24), that the gods being pleased with his hymns got back his cows from Bala. Actually, there are no hymns attributed to Nabhāka but there are two hymns ascribed to Nābhāka (*RV.* X. 39 ; 42).

43. Seems to be an orthographical variation for Nabhaga.

Nabhāgadiṣta,[44] Nabhoga,[45] Nābhāka,[46] Nābhāga,[47] Nābhānediṣṭha mānava[48] and Nābhigupta.[49]

Most of these names are connected with the Solar Race. The word " Nabha or Nabhas ' means " the sky " and even the " sun " according to the Nirukta.[50] If we confine our attention to the records of the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum, we will find more than 300 names beginning with Nabu.[51] Nabu is the name of an Akkadian God and evidently it was assumed to show the devotion to this particular deity. This seems to be a Universal custom among these peoples as will be seen from the names beginning with Assur.[52] Ištar,[53] Marduk,[54] Ramman,[55] Šamaš,[56] etc.

Another important deciding factor in regard to the identity of the Vedic Ṛṣabha with the " Reshef " of the Western Asia is that all the relations of the above can be connected with similar geographical names that were in existence before 660 B.C., as may be ascertained from the library record of Assurbanipal. For instance, the word Ṛṣabha itself can be associated with a city and a district of that name variously spelt as Raṣappa, Raṣapa Raṣapi,[57] Rezeph, etc. The similarity is strikingly obvious.

We have already seen that the name of Ṛṣabha's father Nābhi could be identified with the name of the Chaldaean god Nabū, variously written as Nabu, Nabo, Nebo, etc. His mother's name was Merudevi[58] and she was according to the Purāṇic legend, one of the nine daughter's of the Meru Mountain, who were married to the nine sons of Āgnīdhra,[59] the grandfather of Ṛṣabha. We can find the trace

44. Variously mentioned as Nabhāgadiṣta, Nābhāgāriṣṭa, and Nābhānediṣṭa.
45. A sage in the Brahmasāvarṇi Manvantara.
46. Vedic composer (RV. viii. 39-42). Mentioned as Nābhāka Kāṇva. Named as Sūktakāra in *RV.* viii. 41.2.
47. Son of Nabhaga who was one of the ten sons of Vaivasvata Manu. (*Bh.* 18.4 ; Mbh. A. 69.20). According to *Padma Purana* he was the son of Vaivasvata Manu. The traditional account is confusing.
48. Vedic Composer : RV. X. 61-62.
49. Son of Hiraṇyaretas and grandson of Priyavrata. *Bh.* V. 20.14.
50. II.14.
51. *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* Vol. V. pp. 2118-2131 and Vol. VI. pp. 249-50. It is curious that here we have a name " Nabonedus ' which comes very near to Nābhānediṣṭha of the Vedic times. This, however, is the name of a Babylonian king dated B.C. 555-538—*Vide* p. 2135. Similarly, the names Nabūrihtuṣur, Nabūrišiši, and Nabūriṣua p. 2126 remind us of Nābhāriṣṭa.
52. *Ibid.* Vol. V, pp. 1971-79.
53. The same, pp. 2064-65, both male and female.
54. Pp. 2107-2110.
55. Pp. 2160-2162.
56. Pp. 2177-2179.
57. P. 2162.
58. Bh. 1.3.13 Meru (may be interpreted as the name of the King of that mountanous region).
59. Bh. V. 2,23.

of Merudevī in the following names: Maru,[60] Marusu,[61] Maruṣur,[62] Murri (or Murra)[63] and Muru or Murūa.[64] Her sister Pratirūpā was married to Kiṁpuruṣa, son of Āgnīdhra. If we regard Partu,[65] Partakka,[66] Partukka[66] and Kiṁtar-paśtum,[67] Kipritai (or Kipri)[68] as corruptions, they could be identified as belonging to this region. We are not able to get any clue for the identification of her second sister Ugradaṁṣṭrā[69] but there is ample material to connect her husband's name Harivarṣa or its abbreviation Hari. Haria is the name of a country[70] but the name Harilai or Harilu be preferred because it is the name of an Aramean tribe.[71] Similarly, Latā, the third sister, has left no reminiscences[72] but her husband Ilāvṛta can be definitely connected with Elam, the country to the east of Babylon. In all the variant names, *e.g.* Ilamtu, Ilamtum, Ilamat, Ilammat, " Ila " is the common factor and " Matu " is land[73] and the Sanskrit word Ilāvṛta means " chosen by the land of Ilā." It is very likely that Ilāvṛta was the chosen king of Elam. If Śyāmā is regarded as the shortened form of Śyāmalā, it can be equated with Samalla which is an Aramean city and province.[74] The fourth sister's husband Hiraṇya has his correspondent name in Hiranu—the Aramean city and tribe.[75] Nārī, the fifth sister, can very well be identified with the province of Nairi to the South of Media and to the North of Assyria, which is spelt as Na'iri and Na'ri also.[76] Nari's husband is Kuru and Kuru was the ancient province of Caucasia where we still have a river of that name rising in the Caucasian mountain and falling into the Caspian Sea.[77] We have no trace of Bhadrā and Bhadrāśva and apparently they do not belong to this region. Devavīti and Ketumāla also belong to the same category.

Similarly Ṛṣabha had ten sons whose names are Bharata, Kavi, Hari, Antarikṣa, Prabhuddha, Pippalāyana, Āvirhotra, Drumila, Camasa and Karabhājana.[78]

60. A Median city—*Kouy*. Records, p. 2111.
61. Aramean tribe—*Ibid.*
62. Male proper name—*Ibid.*
63. River or canal—p. 2115.
64. A Babylonian city, p. 2115.
65. Parthia-Kony. R. p. 2150.
66. City in Madai—*Ibid.*
67. Ancient Babylonian ruler—p. 2071.
68. Aramean tribe known as Kifri, p. 2072.
69. If we take the word literally, one having fierce fans, it would not be a proper name for a princess to be married to a regional king. If on the contrary we take the name to be Ugina (p. 2204) or Aggunu (p. 1957) it will mean the " Province in the country of Nairi " or the name of " a country " respectively.
70. *Kouy*. R. p. 2037.
71. *Ibid.*
72. It will be far-fetched to connect her with male proper names. Latardaili and Latasnili—p. 2078.
73. *Śumerische Grammatik mit Ubungsstücken und Zwei Anhängen*—by P. Anton Deimel s.j., Roma 1939, p. 118.
74. P. 2177.
75. P. 2040.
76. P. 2132.
77. With a slight change as " Kur." The territory beyond the river may comprise Northern Armenia. See Dr. M. T. Kedar's " *Vedasthāna* " p. 8 and the name of the river on the map at the end of *Isidore's* " *Parthian stations* " (1914), Philadelphia, p. 47.
78. Bh. V. 3-6.

The legend tells us that all these, except Bharata, followed the spiritual path as the names Antarikṣa, Prabuddha, Āvirhotra and Karabhājana also definitely indicate. Bharata is a very common name and it would be difficult to restrict it to this region only. But we have a Babylonian city and province[79] variously named as Birati, Burati, Birat, Birti, Birtu, which may give us some clue. But Kavi is certainly the Aramean tribe " Kabi."[80] Hari, bearing the same name as his uncle, as we have seen above, can be connected with the Arameans. Camasa and Drumila are not traceable. If all this data is put together we find that these names can, in some form or another, be connected with the Arameans and since Nabha, apart from his being a divinity called Nabu, can also be connected with Nabatu or Nabatai[81] which is the name of an Aramean tribe itself and Nabayati[82] is the name of their country. All the relations of the Vedic Ṛṣabha are thus definitely Arameans. This is confirmed by the fact that Ṛṣabha or the " *Reshef* " of the Western Asia is the name of the common inherited god of the Phoenicians, Amorites and the Arameans. Thus the identification of the bronze statue of " *Reshef* " is undoubtedly that of the deified legendary king Ṛṣabha-deva of the Arameans whose tradition is well-preserved in the ancient Indian records of the Vedic and post-Vedic times.

79. p. 1993. There are three names of the Aramean cities with Birtu as the initial part, namely, Birtuśa-Karbīlmātāti, Birtuśalabnat, Birtuśasarragiti; Birutu is also a city in the country of Zamua.
80. P. 2067.
81. P. 2117.
82. P. 2118.

REVIEWS

Vyājokti Ratnāvali: by Sri Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI, M.A., B.L., pp. I-X, 1-56, Sahityccandra Sala, Tiruvalangadu, Tanjore, (South India). 1953. Price Rs. 2/-

This booklet under review is a collection of 125 fine verses in Sanskrit in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.* It belongs to the *anyāpadeśa* type of Sanskrit lyric poetry where the non-contextual sense is described and the contextual sense is suggested thereby. It is very popular in Sanskrit and it is generally used for humorous and satirical sketches. It is popularly known as *anyāpadesa Kāvya* because the figure *aprastutapraśaṁsā* is freely employed along with others. There are many popular *anyāpadeśa Śatakas* in Sanskrit dated from the fifth or sixth Century A.D. when the famous Śataka of *Bhaṭṭa Bhallaṭa* has appeared. It is a *Muktaka Kāvya* in that each verse is to be given its own context and an independent interpretation.

South India produced many brilliant poets who have written this *anyāpadeśa* poetry. At Tanjore which was a seat of high Sanskrit learning under the Naik and Maratta Kings there were many poets whose works are still available, some in print and some in manuscripts. One Vāñcheśvara Sudhi *alias* Kuṭṭikavi, generally known as *Ślesa Sārvabhauma*, has written a *Mahiṣa-Śataka* which contains biting humour and satire against some local rulers. Nīlikaṇṭha Dīkshita is the gifted writer of *anyāpadeśa poetry* belonging to 17th century whose writings contain humorous and satiric observations on the contemporary people and events. Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha of this period has written many *anyāpadeśa* verses which he has incorporated into his *Bhāminī-Vilāsa.*

The present writer, a descendent of Sri Appayya Dīkṣita's family and the great-grandson of Sri Tyagaraja Sastriar of Mannarugudi in Tanjore District is a gifted poet in Sanskrit and to his credit he has composed many poetic works of diverse character. His Kiṅkiṇīmālā is a collection of verses which are "marked by felicity of expression, command of metre and skill in composition." His *Vanalatā*, *Maṇimālā*, and *Puṣpopahāra* are some of his other lyrical poems dealing with love-sentiment and devotional element. His *Kauṇḍinya Prahasana* and *Prati-Rājasūya* are two dramatic works which deserve special mention. His *Bhāsakathā-sāra*, a prose work in Sanskrit written in an easy-flowing lucid style, is now a very popular text-book among the modern students of Sanskrit in College classes.

The present work contains an English translation of the author himself with a fine introduction in English, explaining the purport and aim of the writer. A few verses are autobiographical and the writer finds great pleasure in recording his

many-sided life, first as a lawyer and then as a teacher and a writer. As the author says in his introducaion, a large number of verses contains " reflections on contemporary political events, social and economic trends, the changing outlook of a drawing new age " etc. " The first two verses have reference to the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms and the response of the people thereto...... The tenth verse contains a comment upon the elevation of Lord Sinha to an English peerage. " These explanations given in the introduction are quite welcome to all readers and would pave the way to find out similar explanations in other instances.

The original Sanskrit verses composed in a simple and majestic style contain exquisite poetry and they mark particular quality—*prasāda-lucidity*. The English Translation is not only true to the original but explanatory in many places, which is a boon to English-knowing readers. The author deserves all praise at the hands of all students and patrons of Sanskrit learning.

A gifted writer of Sanskrit poetry and prose, he has wonderfully combined in himself what is best in the old and the new India. May the Goddess of Muse bless him with her choicest gifts to write more works of this kind and prove to this World that Sanskrit is not a *dead language* but is a living force unifying all varied cultures into a *homogenous one*.

V. A. R. Sastri.

The Sinhalese Folk Play : by E. R. Sarathchandra, published by the Ceylon University Press Board, (Colombo), 1953. pp. i-v ; 1-139 ; i-v and 14 Monochrome illustrations.

The author deserves congratulations for a very readable and well brought out book. The margin illustrations add to the usefulness and the beauty of the book. One only regrets that there are not more of these to illustrate in greater details the demon-appeasing performances described by the author.

In this book of 139 pages eighty two pages are devoted to a description of ritual for exorcising of demons and two types of folk entertainments namely Kolam on the coast and Sokari in the upland villgaes ; the last fifty pages describe first the nineteenth century Nadagams and puppet plays and end with a description of the modern drama and stage based entirely on an imitation of the early Bombay performers who visited Ceylon in the beginning of the 20th century.

There is a hiatus between the folk tradition on one hand and the Nadagam tradition leading to the modern Ceylonese plays. The two need not have been described in the same book as the treatment of both is sketchy. The first part is the more interesting from the point of view of the cultural anthropologist and the

short description given in the book whets the appetite rather than satisfies it. The analogies and similarities to South Indian dramatic traditions are so many and so tantalising that a comparative study of the Ceylonese and South Indian studies is absolutely necessary. Masked dances and wooden masks are reported from a very wide area in the Island world of the south and one would like to know how the traditions of these far-off people compare with those of Ceylon and South India. Dances, rites, folk-plays and masks are a very delicate instrument for studies in cultural typology and one hopes that the Ceylon University follows up the studies so well begun by widening and deepening the field of research.

I. Karve

Gujarātı par Arabī Phārasīnī Asar: (In Gujarātī. The influence of the Arabic and Persian Languages on Gujarātī), Part I, by C. R. Naik, Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1954, pp. 12; 438. Price Rs. 4/8.

The modern Indian languages have been greatly influenced, particularly in vocabulary, by the Arabic and Persian languages due to the continuous Islamic rule in this country for several centuries. However, the number of words in the different Indian languages which could be traced to Perso-Arabic influence varies in different regions owing to various circumstances.[1] In the present work Dr. Naik makes an attempt to assess the degree of the influence exerted by these foreign languages on Gujarātī. The Gujarat Vidya Sabha may be congratulated for having brought out this publication so valuable for the cultural study of Gujarat.

In the first three chapters of the book, the author describes the history, language and literature of Iran, and the arrival of foreigners in Gujarat—the topics which supply the background to the main subject. In the fourth chapter he gives his evaluation of the Perso-Arabic element in the language of Gujarat. While doing so he has not merely given the lists of borrowed words in Gujarātī. Instead, he has classified these words under suitable heads like words referring to Administration, Law, Revenue, Medicine, Agriculture, etc., and preceded each one of these lists with introductory remarks discussing at times the causes which led to these borrowings. A glance at these lists will enable the reader to appreciate the wide influence exerted by the foreigners on the life and culture of the people of Gujarat. In the last chapter we find the treatment of some topics of morphological interest such as the foreign influence on the noun-formation in Gujarātī, the use of foreign indeclinables and suffixes. There we also get a discussion of the semantic aspect in so far as the

1. In course of time many of these words became difficult for understanding and attempts were made to compile lexicons of Persian words with Sanskrit equivalents. Efforts in the other direction *viz.* to avoid the use of foreign words in a language and replace them by old indigenous words were also not unknown. For a description of these Lexicons, cf. Infiltration of Persian words in Indian Languages by Dr. M. R. Majumdar, *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda, 1.89-92.

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author cites instances to show how the original meaning of some foreign words was changed in modern Gujarātī. Quite interetsing is the collection of some of the Gujārati sayings which are either translations of foreign sayings or which show foreign words in their present form.

A few remarks may be made. For a proper and thorough treatment of the subject it was necessary to make a distinction between such foreign words which have completely replaced the words proper to the language and such as are used alongside the indigenous words. It does not again suffice to list together borrowed words of varied frequency in their use. In fact on a proper study it will be observed that in some cases a foreign word is used in a limited context and hence is used less often, whereas the local word finds wider employment. To take only a few instances from amongst those that have been listed together as referring to the parts of the body (pp. 277-278) we may consider such pairs: *kadam* : *pag*[2]; *kamar* : *kẽḍ*; *khūn* : *lohī*; *casm* : *ā̃kh*; *jabān* : *jībh*; *badan* : *śarīr*. It is by no means the case that such pairs are restricted only to the words referring to the parts of the body. They can as well be formed with words given in the other lists by the author. Then again in certain cases it may be found that a borrowed word has found inclusion in the language vocabulary not because it expresses a foreign idea, but because the local word has changed its meaning or has come to be used in a narrow sense in the course of its development. Thus, for example, the word for garden *bāg* (p. 243) may have found acceptance in the language, as the derivative of the inherited word *ujāṇī* was used in the restricted sense of a picnic. Unless such careful distinction is made in the borrowed words, a casual reader is likely to overestimate the foreign influence on the language and culture of Gujarat.

The author's citing of *jāṅgh* (the printed text gives *jāṅg* which is not given in the *Joḍaṇīkośa*) by the side of Skt. *jānu* (p. 312) is not correct—the former has to be traced to Skt. *jaṅghā*. On p. 321, the author cites *raṅg* (*a*) as common to all the three languages, *viz.* Persian, Sanskrit, and Gujarātī; but this is in contradiction to the author's earlier observation in footnote 2 on p. 272 where he asserts that *raṅg* ' colour ' is a Persian word, and that Sanskrit *raṅga* is altogether a different word.

The absence of a word-index is a great handicap. The utility of works such as the present one would be greatly increased when it is supplied with a good index. As mentioned on the cover page, the present volume is the first part; but the introduction does not make clear in how many parts the subject is going to be handled, and what we may expect to read in the subsequent parts.

M. A. MEHENDALE

2. The second word in each of these pairs has not been cited by the author; he only gives the first one as a borrowing.

Gajaśāstrasāra (Science of Elephants), *Pakṣī Lakṣaṇa āṇi Cikitsā va Cittā vahāgāsa cikitsā* (training and treatment of Falcons, Hunting Cheetahs, Rams and Smaller Birds), Tanjāvar Sarasvatī Mahāl Granthamālā 40-41. Edited by A. Krishnaswami Mahadik and Published by S. Gopalan, Hon. Secretary, Shri Sarasvatī Mahāl Granthālaya, Tanjore, 1952. Pp. xv, 32, 55, 52; 146; 9. Price. Rs. 3/-.

The Hon. Secretary of the S. Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, has undoubtedly rendered a distinct service to India's technical literature by publishing the Marathi texts with English translations of Gajaśāstra-sāra, Pakṣī-Lakṣaṇa and Cikitsā and the treatment of Falcons, Hunting Cheetahs, Rams, Smaller Birds, etc., from the records so well-preserved in the Library at Tanjore. The value of these works, although primarily based on Sanskrit literature on the subjects dealt with, is not at all lessened for the general public who wish to acquaint themselves with some aspects of our ancient culture which are no longer met with at present. Hunting was the most entertaining pastime of our aristocracy from times immemorial and the kings and nobles were required to learn these practical sciences as a necessary part of their education. In these days, a common man has no occasion to see the elephants except in the circus but in former times every princely State possessed a number of elephants some of which were specially trained for hunting purposes. So were the leopards. The fight of rams provided a more innocent sport and the bird hunting with the help of falcons required considerable skill. These manuals were very useful for the selection of this animate hunting equipment and the medical treatment that was necessary to keep them fit.

We congratulate the Publication Committee on the selection of Marathi works which are mostly written in the eighteenth century Marathi of Tanjore and which are a new acquisition to the Marathi public.

R. G. HARSHE

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